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The FEC Journal of Election Administration

Volume No. 16, Summer 1989

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YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

CLEARINGHOUSE ADVISORY PANEL

on **August 24-25, 1989**
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- No registration fee, but attendees are responsible for their own transportation, accommodations, and meals.
- For special room rates from the hotel ($87/s, $105/d), specifically mention your attendance at the meeting.
- For further information or assistance, contact: **Janet McKee, Clearinghouse, tele: 800/424-9530**

The FEC JOURNAL OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION is a publication of the U.S. Federal Election Commission's National Clearinghouse on Election Administration.

Commissioners are: Danny Lee McDonald, Chairman; Lee Ann Elliott, Vice Chairman; Joan D. Aikens; John Warren McGarry; Scott Thomas; Thomas J. Josefiak; Walter J. Stewart, Secretary of the Senate, Ex-Officio; and Donnald K. Anderson, Clerk of the House of Representatives, Ex-Officio.

Comments, letters, articles, and suggestions are welcome and should be addressed to William C. Kimberling, Editor, FEC JOURNAL OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION, Clearinghouse, Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC 20463.

For additional information, call the FEC National Clearinghouse on Election Administration on 202/376-5670 or toll free on 800/424-9530.

Substantive information regarding the Federal Election Campaign Act or FEC campaign finance activities may also be obtained toll free from the FEC Public Information Office on 800/424-9530.

Editor's Note

This Edition, Future Editions, and Other Things

Many newly elected or recently appointed election officials (and some of the veterans, for that matter) are a little uncertain of which federal agencies are responsible for what aspects of the election process. This edition of the *Journal* therefore provides a kind of "Who's Who in Federal Elections" as a general guide to the federal bureaucracy in these matters. Thus, we offer articles on:

- the principal election committees in the Congress
- the Federal Election Commission and its National Clearinghouse on Election Administration
- two offices within the Department of Justice
- two offices within the Bureau of the Census, and
- an office in the Department of Defense.

In addition to these election-related federal agencies, we have identified various associations of election officials and a number of private organizations whose products or services may be useful to election offices. Please note, however, that their inclusion in this *Journal* does not necessarily constitute an endorsement.

This edition also contains a recap of the 1988 election with 1984 figures provided for comparison. (The same kinds of figures dating back to 1960 are available free of charge from the Clearinghouse if you call and request our Technical Report on Federal Election Statistics). And given the disappointing turnout in 1988, we turn once again to the question of voter participation.

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE IN FUTURE EDITIONS OF THE JOURNAL?

Although this *Journal* comes out only once a year or so, it is still a challenge putting one together — deciding what might be of interest to you, what might be useful. It would be a real help if you could take a few minutes to let us know what you would like to see in future editions of the *Journal* (you can use the back of Form D on page 40, if you prefer). Some of the possibilities include:

- ❑ More on the history of election administration (such as the Electoral College article in the last edition)
- ❑ More on the activities of federal election-related agencies (such as those in this and in past editions)
- ❑ More on the requirements of various federal election laws (such as the Q&A article in the past edition)
- ❑ More articles on innovative procedures or technologies (such as a previous article on all mail ballot elections)
- ❑ More on State-to-State differences in policies or procedures

Any other ideas you may have would be welcome. Please let us hear from you.

VIDEO LENDING LIBRARY

On a new but related subject, we are also interested in any ideas you may have for improving our other services to you. It has been suggested, for example, that with the growing popularity of videotapes as educational or instructional devices, the Clearinghouse should establish a free video lending library. To that end, if you have produced any videos (training tapes, public information tapes, or the like) that you would like to share with your colleagues, please send them along so that we can add them to our modest collection. The next edition of the *Journal* will begin listing the tapes we have available for lending.

1988 Presidential Election Results

Because of the decentralized nature of the U.S. election system, it takes a good deal longer than one might imagine to compile and verify the results of a federal election. Moreover, different organizations issue different sets of figures depending both on their sources of data and on the time they collected it.

In hopes of reducing this confusion about election figures, the FEC Clearinghouse offers free of charge a *Technical Report on Federal Election Statistics* which provides voting age population, registration, turnout, and party voting figures by state in each presidential election since 1960. In order to understand the numbers in that report, as well as those on the following pages, a few definitions may be useful.

■ **Voting Age Population (VAP)** refers to the total number of persons in the United States who are 18 years of age or older regardless of citizenship, military status, felony conviction, or mental state. The standard and most reliable source of VAP figures is, of course, the Bureau of Census in their *Current Population Reports, Series P-25 (Population Estimates and Projections)*. There are, however, some important subtleties and nuances to using VAP figures as a basis for measuring voter participation. Note, for example, that the figures include aliens, felons, and others ineligible to vote in most States. One consequence of this is that participation figures in the U.S. are artificially lower than those reported by European nations who calculate theirs on the basis the *eligible* voting age population. Another nuance is that the Bureau of Census reports different VAP figures for the same election at different times depending on the information available to them. There is, for example, a *projected* voting age population followed in time by slightly different *estimated* voting age population figures. Because different VAP figures will yield different percentages, it is important to recognize that the following pages refer to the *estimated voting age population* as reported by the Bureau of Census in their P-25 series.

■ **Eligible Electorate** refers, as the term suggests, to the number of persons in the States who are of voting age and who are also legally eligible to vote. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to do anything but approximate these figures. And it is for this reason that the more reliable VAP figures are traditionally employed as the basis for calculating participation. Yet for those interested in approximating, the Bureau of Census reported in their population projection for the 1988 election (Series P-25, No. 1019, January 1988) that the VAP included about 6.5 million legal aliens, 2.5 million undocumented aliens (together representing about 5% of the total VAP), and an additional 680,000 persons ineligible to vote because of imprisonment or mental hospitalization.

■ **Registered Population** refers, of course, to the number of persons in the United States registered to vote in the election. Yet registration figures are for several reasons extremely unreliable and are seldom used in any serious analysis of voter participation. Although the Bureau of Census does report registration figures in its P-20 series, it must be said that the accuracy of those figures suffers from the limitations true of any survey. It is equally unwise to rely too heavily on registration figures provided by the States since different purge laws and cycles seriously affect the accuracy and comparability of the numbers. Either way you go about it, then, registration figures are undependable. That said, the following pages contain registration figures provided by the States.

■ **Voter Turnout** despite its apparent simplicity, may be derived in at least three different ways. In its P-20 series surveys, the Bureau of Census reports voter turnout figures which are, however, somewhat distorted by misreporting and sampling error. A more exacting technique employed, unfortunately, in only about half of the States is to count all those who cast a ballot. The most common technique, and the one employed on the following pages, is to total the number of votes in the presidential race despite the fact that some voters (about 2% of them) may skip that race when voting.

What follows, then, are the results of the 1988 presidential election along with, for comparative purposes, the results of the 1984 presidential election.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND VOTE TOTALS - 1988

Party	U.S. Totals	Candidates
Republican	48,886,097	George Bush and J. Danforth Quayle
Democratic	41,809,074	Michael S. Dukakis and Lloyd Bensen
Libertarian	432,116	Ron E. Paul and Andre V. Marrou
New Alliance	217,219	Lenora B. Fulani and Joyce Dattner (and others)
Populist	47,047	David Duke and Floyd C. Parker
Consumer	30,905	Eugene J. McCarthy and Florence Rice
American Independent	27,818	James C. Griffin and Charles J. Morsa
National Economic	25,542	Lyndon H. LaRouche and Debras H. Freeman
Right to Life	20,504	William A. Marra and Joan Andrews
Workers League	18,662	Edward Winn and Barry Porster
Socialist Workers	15,604	James Warren and Kathleen Mickells
Peace and Freedom	10,370	Herbert Lewin and Vikki Murdock
Prohibition	8,002	Earl Dodge and George Ormsby
Workers World	7,846	Larry Holmes and Gloria Lariva
Socialist	3,882	Willa Kenoyer and Ron Ehrenreich
American	3,475	Delmar Dennis and Earl Jeppson
GrassRoots	1,949	Jack Herer and Dana Beal
Independent	372	Louis G. Youngkeit
Third World Assembly	236	John G. Martin and Cleveland Sparrow

REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT BY STATE - 1988

State	Total VAP	Total Reg	Turnout	% Reg. (VAP)	% T/O (VAP)
AL	3,010,000	2,451,494	1,378,476	81.44	45.80
AK	385,000	293,871	200,116	76.33	51.72
AZ	2,605,000	1,797,714	1,171,873	69.01	44.98
AR	1,761,000	1,203,016	827,738	68.31	47.00
CA	20,875,000	14,004,873	9,887,065	67.09	47.36
CO	2,489,000	2,029,518	1,372,394	81.54	55.14
CT	2,492,000	1,795,419	1,443,394	72.05	57.92
DE	490,000	318,362	249,891	64.97	50.82
DC	489,000	299,757	192,877	61.30	39.44
FL	9,614,000	6,047,347	4,302,313	62.90	44.72
GA	4,665,000	2,934,487	1,809,672	62.90	38.79
HI	824,000	443,742	354,461	53.85	43.02
ID	701,000	572,430	408,968	81.66	58.34
IL	8,550,000	6,356,940	4,559,120	74.35	53.32
IN	4,068,000	2,865,852	2,168,621	70.45	53.31
IA	2,068,000	1,690,093	1,225,614	81.72	59.26
KS	1,829,000	1,265,958	993,044	69.22	54.29
KY	2,746,000	2,026,307	1,322,517	73.79	48.16
LA	3,175,000	2,231,857	1,628,202	70.29	51.28
ME	893,000	854,764	555,035	95.72	62.15
MD	3,491,000	2,310,080	1,714,358	66.17	49.11
MA	4,535,000	3,274,777	2,632,801	72.21	58.05
MI	6,791,000	5,952,513	3,669,163	87.65	54.03
MN	3,161,000	2,916,957	2,096,790	92.28	66.33
MS	1,867,000	1,595,826	931,527	85.48	49.89
MO	3,821,000	2,943,024	2,093,713	77.02	54.78
MT	586,000	505,541	365,674	86.27	62.40
NE	1,167,000	898,959	661,465	77.03	56.68
NV	780,000	444,931	350,067	57.04	44.88
NH	823,000	649,924	451,074	78.97	54.81
NJ	5,943,000	4,010,790	3,099,553	67.49	52.15
NM	1,101,000	674,826	521,287	61.29	47.35
NY	13,480,000	8,581,276	6,485,683	63.66	48.11
NC	4,913,000	3,432,042	2,134,370	69.86	43.44
ND	483,000	N/A	297,261	N/A	61.54
OH	7,970,000	6,323,352	4,393,585	79.34	55.13
OK	2,404,000	2,199,014	1,171,036	91.47	48.71
OR	2,051,000	1,524,446	1,201,694	74.33	58.59
PA	9,060,000	5,875,943	4,536,251	64.86	50.07
RI	764,000	548,758	404,622	71.83	52.95
SC	2,534,000	1,447,151	986,009	57.11	38.91
SD	509,000	440,301	312,991	86.50	61.49
TN	3,661,000	2,417,033	1,636,250	66.02	44.69
TX	12,270,000	8,201,856	5,427,410	66.84	44.23
UT	1,078,000	806,934	647,008	74.85	60.02
VT	412,000	348,312	243,328	84.54	59.06
VA	4,544,000	2,878,718	2,191,609	63.35	48.23
WA	3,417,000	2,499,309	1,865,253	73.14	54.59
WV	1,398,000	968,619	653,311	69.29	46.73
WI	3,536,000	UNK	2,191,608	UNK	61.98
WY	351,000	226,189	176,551	64.44	50.30
US	**182,630,000**	**126,381,202***	**91,594,693**	**70.50***	**50.15**

* Less Unknowns and Not Applicables

PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS BY STATE - 1988

State	Republican	Democratic	Other	%REP	%DEM	ECV*
AL	815,576	549,506	13,394	59.17	39.86	9R
AK	119,251	72,584	8,281	59.59	36.27	3R
AZ	702,541	454,029	15,303	59.95	38.74	7R
AR	466,578	349,237	11,923	56.37	42.19	6R
CA	5,054,917	4,702,233	129,915	51.13	47.56	47R
CO	728,177	621,453	22,764	53.06	45.28	8R
CT	750,241	676,584	16,569	51.98	46.87	8R
DE	139,639	108,647	1,605	55.88	43.48	3R
DC	27,590	159,407	5,880	14.30	82.65	3D
FL	2,618,885	1,656,701	26,727	60.87	38.51	21R
GA	1,081,331	714,792	13,549	59.75	39.50	12R
HI	158,625	192,364	3,472	44.75	54.27	4D
ID	253,881	147,272	7,815	62.08	36.01	4R
IL	2,310,939	2,215,940	32,241	50.69	48.60	24R
IN	1,297,763	860,643	10,215	59.84	39.69	12R
IA	545,355	670,557	9,702	44.50	54.71	8D
KS	554,049	422,636	16,359	55.79	42.56	7R
KY	734,281	580,368	7,868	55.52	43.88	9R
LA	883,702	717,460	27,040	54.27	44.06	10R
ME	307,131	243,569	4,335	55.34	43.88	4R
MD	876,167	826,304	11,887	51.11	48.20	10R
MA	1,194,635	1,401,415	36,751	45.38	53.23	13D
MI	1,965,486	1,675,783	27,894	53.57	45.67	20R
MN	962,337	1,109,471	24,982	45.90	52.91	10D
MS	557,890	363,921	9,716	59.89	39.07	7R
MO	1,084,953	1,001,619	7,141	51.82	47.84	11R
MT	190,412	168,936	6,326	52.07	46.20	4R
NE	397,956	259,235	4,274	60.16	39.19	5R
NV	206,040	132,738	11,289	58.86	37.92	4R
NH	281,537	163,696	5,841	62.41	36.29	4R
NJ	1,743,192	1,320,352	36,009	56.24	42.60	16R
NM	270,341	244,497	6,449	51.86	46.90	5R
NY	3,081,871	3,347,882	55,930	47.52	51.62	36D
NC	1,237,258	890,167	6,945	57.97	41.71	13R
ND	166,559	127,739	2,963	56.03	42.97	3R
OH	2,416,549	1,939,629	37,407	55.00	44.15	23R
OK	678,367	483,423	9,246	57.93	41.28	8R
OR	560,126	616,206	25,362	46.61	51.28	7D
PA	2,300,087	2,194,944	41,220	50.70	48.39	25R
RI	177,761	225,123	1,738	43.93	55.64	4D
SC	606,443	370,554	9,012	61.50	37.58	8R
SD	165,415	145,560	2,016	52.85	46.51	3R
TN	947,233	679,794	9,223	57.89	41.55	11R
TX	3,036,829	2,352,748	37,833	55.95	43.35	29R
UT	428,442	207,343	11,223	66.22	32.05	5R
VT	124,331	115,775	3,222	51.10	47.58	3R
VA	1,309,162	859,799	22,648	59.74	39.23	12R
WA	903,835	933,516	27,902	48.46	50.05	10D
WV	310,065	341,016	2,230	47.46	52.20	5D1O
WI	1,047,499	1,126,794	17,315	47.80	51.41	11D
WY	106,867	67,113	2,571	60.53	38.01	3R
US	48,886,097	41,809,074	899,522	53.37	45.65	426R 111D 1O

* Electoral College Vote

REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT BY STATE - 1984

State	Total VAP	Total Reg	Turnout	% Reg. (VAP)	% T/O (VAP)
AL	2,892,000	2,343,448	1,441,713	81.03	49.85
AK	351,000	305,262	207,605	86.97	59.15
AZ	2,268,000	1,462,818	1,025,897	64.50	45.23
AR	1,706,000	1,159,588	884,406	67.97	51.84
CA	19,181,000	13,073,630	9,505,423	68.16	49.56
CO	2,353,000	1,621,306	1,295,380	68.90	55.05
CT	2,401,000	1,809,017	1,466,900	75.34	61.10
DE	459,000	314,034	254,572	68.42	55.46
DC	489,000	275,000	211,288	56.24	43.21
FL	8,665,000	5,574,472	4,180,051	64.33	48.24
GA	4,231,000	2,734,202	1,776,120	64.62	41.98
HI	758,000	418,898	335,846	55.26	44.31
ID	686,000	582,196	411,144	84.87	59.93
IL	8,438,000	6,470,438	4,819,088	76.68	57.11
IN	3,993,000	3,049,590	2,233,069	76.37	55.92
IA	2,120,000	1,762,841	1,319,805	83.15	62.25
KS	1,798,000	1,291,416	1,021,991	71.82	56.84
KY	2,697,000	2,022,995	1,369,345	75.01	50.77
LA	3,129,000	2,262,101	1,706,822	72.29	54.55
ME	854,000	810,661	553,144	94.92	64.77
MD	3,260,000	2,253,150	1,675,873	69.12	51.41
MA	4,443,000	3,253,785	2,559,453	73.23	57.61
MI	6,566,000	5,888,808	3,801,658	89.69	57.90
MN	3,058,000	2,893,049	2,084,449	94.60	68.16
MS	1,802,000	1,669,539	941,104	92.65	52.22
MO	3,708,000	2,969,700	2,122,783	80.09	57.25
MT	591,000	526,841	384,377	89.14	65.04
NE	1,172,000	902,626	652,090	77.02	55.64
NV	691,000	356,384	286,667	51.58	41.48
NH	734,000	543,790	388,904	74.08	52.98
NJ	5,687,000	4,072,739	3,217,862	71.61	56.58
NM	1,002,000	650,929	514,370	64.96	51.33
NY	13,301,000	9,044,208	6,806,810	68.00	51.18
NC	4,593,000	3,270,933	2,175,361	71.22	47.36
ND	493,000	N/A	308,971	N/A	62.67
OH	7,841,000	6,358,558	4,547,619	81.09	58.00
OK	2,408,000	1,949,989	1,255,676	80.98	52.15
OR	1,984,000	1,608,693	1,226,527	81.08	61.82
PA	8,975,000	6,193,702	4,844,903	69.01	53.98
RI	735,000	542,216	410,492	73.77	55.85
SC	2,382,000	1,395,714	968,529	58.59	40.66
SD	508,000	442,790	317,867	87.16	62.57
TN	3,490,000	2,579,504	1,711,994	73.91	49.05
TX	11,436,000	7,900,167	5,397,571	69.08	47.20
UT	1,023,000	840,416	629,656	82.15	61.55
VT	392,000	333,778	234,561	85.15	59.84
VA	4,235,000	2,675,641	2,146,635	63.18	50.69
WA	3,228,000	2,457,667	1,883,910	76.14	58.36
WV	1,422,000	1,025,444	735,742	72.11	51.74
WI	3,485,000	UNK	2,211,689	UNK	63.46
WY	354,000	239,974	188,968	67.79	53.38
US	**174,468,000**	**124,184,647***	**92,652,680**	**72.84***	**53.10**

*Less Unknowns and Not Applicables

Source: Voter Registration and Turnout: 1948-1986, CRS Report to the Congress, Royce Crocker (Government Division) with data provided by Kimball Brace (Election Data Services), March 29, 1988.

PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS BY STATE - 1984

State	Republican	Democratic	Other	%REP	%DEM	ECV*
AL	872,849	551,899	16,965	60.5	38.3	9R
AK	138,377	62,007	7,221	66.7	29.9	3R
AZ	681,416	333,854	10,627	66.4	32.5	7R
AR	534,774	338,646	10,986	60.5	38.3	6R
CA	5,467,009	3,922,519	115,895	57.5	41.3	47R
CO	821,817	454,975	18,588	63.4	35.1	8R
CT	890,877	569,597	6,426	60.7	38.8	8R
DE	152,190	101,656	726	59.8	39.9	3R
DC	29,009	180,408	1,871	13.7	85.4	3D
FL	2,730,350	1,448,816	885	65.3	34.7	21R
GA	1,068,722	706,628	770	60.2	39.8	12R
HI	185,050	147,154	3,642	55.1	43.8	4R
ID	297,523	108,510	5,111	72.4	26.4	4R
IL	2,707,103	2,086,499	25,486	56.2	43.3	24R
IN	1,377,230	841,481	14,358	61.7	37.7	12R
IA	703,088	605,620	11,097	53.3	45.9	8R
KS	677,296	333,149	11,546	66.3	32.6	7R
KY	821,702	539,539	8,104	60.0	39.4	9R
LA	1,037,299	651,586	17,937	60.8	38.2	10R
ME	336,500	214,515	2,129	60.8	38.8	4R
MD	879,918	787,935	8,020	52.5	47.0	10R
MA	1,310,936	1,239,606	8,911	51.2	48.4	13R
MI	2,251,571	1,529,638	20,449	59.2	40.2	20R
MN	1,032,603	1,036,364	15,482	49.5	49.7	10D
MS	582,377	352,192	6,535	61.9	37.4	7R
MO	1,274,188	848,583	12	60.0	40.0	11R
MT	232,450	146,742	5,185	60.5	38.2	4R
NE	460,054	187,866	4,170	70.6	28.8	5R
NV	188,770	91,655	6,242	65.8	32.0	4R
NH	267,051	120,395	1,620	68.6	30.9	4R
NJ	1,933,630	1,261,323	22,909	60.1	39.2	16R
NM	307,101	201,769	5,500	59.7	39.2	5R
NY	3,664,763	3,119,609	22,438	53.8	45.8	36R
NC	1,346,481	824,287	4,593	61.9	37.9	13R
ND	200,336	104,429	4,206	64.8	33.8	3R
OH	2,678,560	1,825,440	43,619	58.9	40.1	23R
OK	861,530	385,080	9,066	68.6	30.7	8R
OR	685,700	536,479	4,348	55.9	43.7	7R
PA	2,584,323	2,228,131	32,449	53.3	46.0	25R
RI	212,080	197,106	1,306	51.7	48.0	4R
SC	615,539	344,459	8,531	63.6	35.6	8R
SD	200,267	116,113	1,487	63.0	36.5	3R
TN	990,212	711,714	10,068	57.8	41.6	11R
TX	3,433,428	1,949,276	14,867	63.6	36.1	29R
UT	469,105	155,369	5,182	74.5	24.7	5R
VT	135,865	95,730	2,966	57.9	40.8	3R
VA	1,337,078	796,250	13,307	62.3	37.1	12R
WA	1,051,670	807,352	24,888	55.8	42.9	10R
WV	405,483	328,125	2,134	55.1	44.6	6R
WI	1,198,584	995,740	17,365	54.2	45.0	11R
WY	133,241	53,370	2,357	70.5	28.2	3R
US	54,455,075	37,577,185	620,582	58.8	40.6	525R 13D

* Electoral College Vote

Source: America Votes 17, Richard M. Scammon and Alice V. McGillivray, Elections Research Center, Washington, D.C., 1987

Essay

by Curtis Gans, Director
Committee for the Study of
the American Electorate

Voter Participation Revisited

The last edition of the Journal, *Number 15 of Autumn 1988, contained an article on voter participation that stirred some comment. Because of the importance and timeliness of the topic, we welcome this and other views on the matter. — Ed.*

When the dust finally settled after the 1988 election, two events — a set of studies released before the election and an analysis of the results after the election — made clear the relationship between registration laws and voter turnout.

The two studies — one conducted by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate (funded by the Ford Foundation and released in 1987), and another conducted by a group of graduate students at the University of Iowa (released in 1988) — both attempted, using slightly different methodologies, to establish the impact of changes in voter registration laws on turnout using the laboratories of individual States which had made such changes over the past two decades.

Both studies found that changes in registration laws could have a significant impact on turnout. The Committee study found that if all barriers to participation were removed and every State enacted election day registration, turnout might increase by as much as 6 to 7 million citizens. The Iowa study found that as many as 8 million Americans would participate were election day registration the national norm.

Both studies also found that other changes in registration laws and procedures have a significant, though lesser effect on voter turnout. Procedures such as drivers' license (so called "motor-voter") registration, increased deputy registration, and mail registration were all found to have noticeably positive effects on turnout.

In addition, both studies found that the procedures commonly used to purge voter registration lists — most notably the automatic purging of those who have failed to vote over a given period of time — have a significantly depressing effect on turnout inasmuch as they create a re-registration hurdle for many who are increasingly less inclined to vote.

The results of the 1988 election told yet another story:

- In Wisconsin and Minnesota, both of which had adopted election day registration in 1976, turnout fell to a level lower than that in 1972, before election day registration was enacted.

- In Oregon, which had adopted election day registration in 1976 and then abandoned it after the 1984 election and which had no 1988 competitive statewide contest, voter turnout declined by a lesser amount than neighboring Washington which had never had election day registration and had a very tight statewide Senatorial race.

- In Colorado, which had enacted drivers' license (motor-voter) registration after the 1984 election, registration shot up by 13 percentage points, but turnout increased by only 0.1 percentage points.

- In New York and Ohio, both of which had adopted agency-based registration in the period between 1984 and 1988 and had undertaken extensive outreach programs to enhance registration and turnout, both registration and turnout declined.

The views expressed here are solely those of the author and should not be represented as being the views of the Federal Election Commission or any division thereof.

■ In Texas, which had launched an innovative program to permit citizens to vote by absentee ballot for the three weeks prior to the 1988 election, turnout also declined.

All of this suggests that the 6 to 8 million Americans who might be more inclined to vote if the remaining registration barriers were removed is too large a number to be ignored, but that registration laws are not at the heart of the problem of voter turnout in the United States.

Putting it quantitatively, about 6 to 8 million more Americans might be brought to vote if registration were virtually automatic. But in 1988, at least **85 million** eligible Americans did not vote and in 1986 at least **104 million** failed to cast their ballots. Clearly, then, voter registration laws are an important but not the predominant reason for the comparatively low rate of voter participation in the United States.

These figures are, in fact, only the tip of the iceberg. In 1988, the United States held an election and nearly half the eligible electorate (49.95%) failed to show up. In 1986 nearly two Americans in every three (62.9%) did not vote. Turnout in 1988 was the lowest since 1924 and, outside of the States of the old confederacy, turnout was the lowest since 1824.

In the nearly three decades since 1960, turnout has declined by more than 20 percent in both presidential and mid-term elections, and in non-southern States it has declined by more than 30 percent. More than 20 million former voters no longer do so. Young people aged 18-24 are voting at a rate of only 17 percent in mid-term elections and at a rate of only 29 percent in presidential elections. If one counts both presidential and mid-term elections, the United States has the lowest rate of voter participation of any democracy in the world.

While there may be no optimal level of participation, declining turnout has serious and dangerous implications for American democracy. For as turnout declines, government becomes more and more the province of the intensely interested at the expense of the common interest; public policy tends to be adjudicated on behalf of those who vote or contribute heavily; the reservoir for voluntarism dries up; the spirit of civic duty erodes and the disaffection of those youngest among us bodes ill for the future welfare of the democratic experiment.

Which is, in turn, why the problem must be addressed.

But to address it, one must understand that the turnout problem in the United States is essentially two distinct and separable problems:

■ The problem of **low** voter turnout — or why, even when the United States had its highest turnout since women were enfranchised in 1920, when a record 62.8% went to the polls in 1960, American participation rates were still lower than most democracies.

■ The problem of **declining** turnout — or why, just as many obstacles to voting have been removed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and subsequent developments; when the demographic factors of age, education and mobility have all pointed to higher turnout; and when our statewide elections (the elections which draw the highest voter turnout) have become more competitive due largely to two-party competition in the south — voter turnout has continued to decline.

The Problem of Low Voter Turnout

The demography of the 1960 non-voters — clustered as they were among the poorer, minority, southern, and younger Americans — makes it possible to ascertain two proximate causes for **low** voter turnout:

■ An absence of class consciousness (especially among the lower classes) within America, an absence of class advocacy from either of the two major political parties, and the complexity of the American governmental process (with its separation of powers and levels of voting), all combined to make the vote seem less instrumental especially to those least fortunate; and

■ Voting procedures that almost totally disenfranchised blacks in the south and which, even with substantial improvements over the last two decades, are still more cumbersome than those of most other democracies. In most other democracies, voting is a one-step act. The state conducts registration, and all the citizen has to do is vote. In the United States, with the full exception of North Dakota and the partial exception of the election day registration states of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Maine, voting is a two step act. Citizens must qualify to vote through registration and, if so qualified, may then vote.

The Problem of Declining Voter Turnout

The **decline** in voter participation, on the other hand, has no such clear demographic profile. Rather, it cuts across all age and income lines including, in this last election, blacks (who had been increasing their rate of participation since the Voting Rights Act) and senior citizens aged 55-65 (who until 1988 had been maintaining a sustained and higher rate of participation). And because it has occurred during a period in which many registration and participation barriers have come down, this decline cannot be attributed entirely to those barriers but is instead the product of a decreased desire to participate.

Any serious analysis of the problem of non-participation in America must therefore address both low and declining turnout and must be aimed at creating both the opportunity **and** the will to participate

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF LOW VOTER TURNOUT

Reasonable people may disagree about the desirability and degree of federal intervention in State registration and voting laws and procedures. Yet the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which finally eliminated segregation at the ballot box through federal legislation, established the right of the federal government to ensure the opportunity to vote in federal elections.

And because of the degree of difficulty in moving the 50 States, the territories, and the literally thousands of local election jurisdictions toward making their registration processes easier, it has become increasingly reasonable to look to the federal government as a means of establishing minimum standards aimed at enhancing participation.

Such an approach must also, however, be mindful of the

responsibility of government, in general, and election officials, in particular, not only to encourage maximum participation but also to ensure the integrity of the election process.

It is in this context that legislation developed by Representative Al Swift of Washington, amended and co-sponsored by Representative William Thomas of California (and which now bears the imprimatur of both the Speaker of the House and the Minority Whip) promises to satisfy the increasing demand for the liberalization of registration laws without jeopardizing important safeguards in the process.

This bill, H.R. 2190, makes great strides toward facilitating registration and voting in the United States. Its provisions include:

1. The automatic registration of anyone who seeks, renews, or changes his address on a motor vehicle operators permit for the purpose of driving and/or identification, unless that individual specifically states that he or she does not wish to be registered. (According to the House Subcommittee on Elections, such legislation would automatically register up to 91 percent of the eligible electorate).
2. Mail registration for federal elections in every State and jurisdiction.
3. Making available registration forms, information and assistance at those government offices with the greatest interaction with citizens.
4. The elimination of purging the registration list for failure to vote. (In an era of a declining motivation to vote and an increasing exercise of the right to eschew the ballot, this measure eliminates re-registration as another disincentive to participation).
5. The establishment of a fair and uniform system of ensuring up-to-date and accurate registration lists with provisions that ensure the fair and timely reinstatement of those removed from the rolls by error or malice; and
6. Funding for the States to modernize their systems of updating registration lists in order to take advantage of the most modern technology as well as the U.S. Postal Service's newly developed National Change of Address system. (This system promises to yield far more accurate registration lists, to reduce substantially the costs of maintaining that accuracy, and to lessen the burden on the citizen to actively requalify for voting).

H.R. 2190 does not address a number of other comparatively minor procedural issues that may also have some effect on turnout the number of voting places and their proximity to voters, the use of voting lists for jury duty, the frequency of elections, or the quality of information about elections made available to the average citizen. Nor would the reforms be as extensive and as complete in their outreach, thoroughness, and protection against fraud as (say) the Canadian system of universal enrollment through a national bipartisan canvass.

But this legislation, which stands a reasonable chance of passage in this Congress, eliminates most of the barriers facing citizens in the full and free exercise of their franchise and provides for constructive and uniform procedures which do not now exist.

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF DECLINING VOTER TURNOUT

H.R. 2190 does not deal with the problem of **declining** voter participation at all. Rather, it establishes a new and more open access to the process which will probably result in a slightly higher base level voter turnout.

To address the decline in turnout, it is necessary to examine its causes and nature.

Ruy Teixeira's very instructive book *Why Americans Don't Vote* (Greenwood Press, 1987), traces the attitudinal changes behind and the attributes of the decline in voter participation to three major factors:

1. A decline in citizens' feelings about the efficacy of their vote or whether their vote will make a difference,
2. A decline in citizens' identification with and strong partisanship for either major political party, and
3. A decline in newspaper reading as the primary source of information about politics and public affairs.

At the same time, polling data from a variety of sources suggest that there are two clusters of non-voters — those middle aged with high levels of alienation and those among the young whose primary attitude toward politics is indifference or anomie.

Translating these findings into real world terms, a redress of declining voter participation will require looking at and finding approaches to a series of inter-related problems, including but not limited to:

- The upbringing of children in an increasingly two-wage-earner world in which television is too frequently used as a baby sitter in the absence of reading, discussion, or involvement activities;
- The education of our young in schools whose class size has grown increasingly large and whose commitment to civic education has grown increasingly weak;
- The civic training of our young in co-curricular and community institutions aimed at teaching the rudiments of the participatory and leadership arts;
- Civic values or approaches to civic consciousness that are neither as self-seeking nor anti-government and political as have been exhibited in recent years;
- Political parties that increasingly have stood for nothing relevant or nothing at all and whose messages have been increasingly obfuscated by the rise of new technologies and their consultant practitioners.
- Government that often responds to crisis but does not anticipate crises equally well, that seems more and more remote from the public will, and that seems to be subject to large fluctuations in ethical standards;
- Television, whose atomizing effects as an institution and destructively homogenizing effects (through the corporate profit

motive, the ratings system, and non-creative programming) threatens to undermine local civic consciousness; and

■ Scurrilous campaigning that has become the rule rather than the exception.

None of these larger questions will yield to either simple panaceas or swift redress. All have to be addressed if one wishes to have anything resembling a sustained reversal of the decline in voter participation.

CONCLUSION

The United States has prided itself on being the world's greatest democracy. Its government of, by, and for the people has become the model for emulation throughout the world.

But within the United States there is the real danger of government becoming one of, by, and for the interested few.

This suggests that the problem of non-participation in the United States is a large one with global implications. About this problem and its constituent elements, the nation, its policy makers, and its policy implementers should not think small.

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Committees in Congress

Federal legislation has a way of taking many State and local election officials by surprise. This is a little odd in view of all the publicity that election bills pending in Congress receive in the various association meetings and in the standard election publications. (Indeed, election officials throughout the country would be well advised to set aside in each annual budget the $1500 or so needed for membership in at least one association and for a subscription to at least one of the professional publications. Such an expenditure, despite local resistance, would be of positive value both to you and to the community you serve.)

The apparent complacency of election officials toward pending federal legislation is all the more puzzling in light of the importance members of Congress attach to the informed and thoughtful views of those who, in the final analysis, will be responsible for carrying out whatever election laws are passed. It is not, then, a mere platitude to say that if you have an interest in or a concern about some pending federal legislation, write to your Senators and Congressman.

WRITING YOUR CONGRESSMAN

There are, of course, more effective and less effective ways of making your views known. Both the timing and content of your message are crucial.

The first consideration is timing. Bills progress through the Congress first through specialized committees or, even before that, through subcommittees. Your views will have their greatest impact in this formulation stage; and they should be addressed to the Chairmen or members of the appropriate committees (though it would be a prudent courtesy to share your views with your own Senators and Representative as well). These committees and subcommittees also often conduct hearings that provide you another potential opportunity for presenting your views. You need only contact them to learn when and where the hearings are scheduled and to seek a place on the agenda. If, however, you wait to express you views until the bill is reported out of committee to the whole chamber, your chances of influencing such a package of agreements and compromises are considerably diminished.

The tone and content of your message are also very important. For just as you are inclined to discount the allegations made in those long, rambling, semi-coherent letters you get from outraged or abusive voters, so members of Congress may question the value of wild or emotional claims supported only by personal opinion or philosophy. It is essential, then, that your message be brief and succinct (or, if not brief, at least clear and well organized) and supported by relevant facts and statistics drawn from your own jurisdiction.

Finally, history suggests that no idea is either all good or all bad. Few bills work out to be quite as effective as their proponents had hoped or as disastrous as their opponents predicted. It seems only reasonable, then, to adopt a balanced view, identifying those provisions of a bill which seem meritorious alongside those which seem more problematical — and perhaps even suggesting possible alternatives to the troubling provisions.

In this spirit of reasonable people reasoning together, we provide on the facing page the names and addresses of the committees in Congress that most often consider election legislation so that you may obtain copies of bills and submit your views directly to them. It should be noted, however, that some election bills (especially voting rights bills) are typically considered by the Judiciary Committees of each chamber while others (especially those dealing with postage matters) are often considered by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs.

ELECTION COMMITTEES IN CONGRESS

Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration

802 House Office Building Annex 1
WASHINGTON DC 20515
Tele: 202/226-7616

MAJORITY:
Al Swift (D-WA), Chairman
Charlie Rose (D-NC)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)
William L. Clay (D-MO)
Jim Bates (D-CA)
Martin Frost (D-TX)
Key Staff Aides:
Karl Sandstrom,
Staff Director and Counsel
Herb Stone,
Professional Staff
Tele: 202/226-7616

MINORITY:
William Thomas (R-CA), Ranking
Pat Roberts (R-KS)
John P. Hiler (R-IN)
James T. Walsh (R-NY)
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Committee on House Administration

H-326 The Capitol
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Charlie Rose (D-NC)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)
Jim Bates (D-CA)
William L. Clay (D-MO)
Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)
Joe Koler (D-PA)
Ronnie G. Flippo (D-AL)
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MINORITY:
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Bill L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Newt Gingrich (R-GA)
Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
John P. Hiler (R-IN)
James T. Walsh (R-NY)
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Minority Staff Director
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Senate Committee on Rules and Administration

305 Russell Senate Office Building
WASHINGTON DC 20510
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MAJORITY:
Wendell H. Ford (D-KY), Chairman
Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)
Daniel K. Inouye (D-HI)
Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)
Albert Gore, Jr. (D-TN)
Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY)
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Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR)
James A. McClure (R-ID)
Jesse Helms (R-NC)
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by The Information Division
Federal Election Commission

The Federal Election Commission

This article is designed to provide a broad picture of the Federal Election Commission and to discuss the laws it administers. It is not intended to be, and is not, exhaustive in its descriptions. The reader should not rely solely on this article for information about federal campaign finance laws but should consult the pertinent statutes and the Commission's regulations before undertaking an activity.

The Federal Election Commission is an independent regulatory agency established by the 1974 amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act (the Act). Its mission is to administer the federal campaign finance laws, which regulate candidates for federal office and the committees that support them. Candidates for federal office include candidates for President, Vice-president, U.S. House of Representatives, and U.S. Senate.

The FEC has six voting Commissioners, who are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They serve staggered six-year terms; this means that, usually, two Commissioners from different political parties are appointed every two years. No more than three of the Commissioners can be affiliated with the same political party, and four votes are necessary for any Commission action. Each year the Commissioners select a chairman and vice-chairman (each from a different party) from among their fellow Commissioners to serve a one-year term. Commissioners are prohibited by law from serving as chairman more than once during their six-year term.

The FEC also has two ex officio, non-voting members: the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate. Special deputies represent the ex officio members at the Commission.

The Commission is required by law to meet once a month; in practice, it usually meets twice a week. Meetings are open to the public, except for meetings or portions of meetings dealing with compliance cases, personnel matters, or other confidential matters. The Commission is supported by a staff of approximately 250 people. Its annual budget for FY 1989 is $15.4 million.

The FEC administers and enforces the election law, which covers three broad areas:

- Public funding of Presidential elections,
- Contributions and expenditures made to influence Federal elections, and
- The disclosure of campaign finance information reported by political committees.

PUBLIC FUNDING

The FEC first administered the public funding program in 1976. Legislation for public funding of Presidential candidates was first proposed, however, in 1907, when President Theodore Roosevelt recommended public financing of federal elections and a ban on private contributions.

Under the current public funding system, Presidential candidates and party convention committees must first meet various eligibility requirements. When the FEC determines that these eligibility requirements have been met, it certifies the amount of public funding to which the candidate or convention committee is entitled. The U.S Treasury then makes the actual payment from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. The fund consists of dollars voluntarily checked off by taxpayers on their federal income tax returns.

In addition to ensuring that candidates and committees have met eligibility requirements and certifying the payment of funds, the FEC audits all recipients of public funding to make certain that the funds were spent in compliance with the law. The FEC may require committees to repay public funds to the

U.S Treasury.

The public funding program has three components: primary matching funds; party convention grants; and general election grants.

Primary Matching Funds

Partial public funding is available to Presidential primary candidates in the form of matching payments. The federal government will match up to $250 of an individual's total contributions to an eligible candidate. (Note that only contributions from individuals are matched; although Presidential primary candidates can accept contributions from political committees, such contributions are not eligible for matching.)

Only candidates seeking a political party's nomination for President are eligible for matching funds. A candidate must establish eligibility by showing broad-based public support: He or she must raise more than $5,000 in matchable contributions (i.e., in amounts of $250 or less per individual) in each of at least twenty states. (Although an individual may contribute up to $1,000 to a primary candidate, only the first $250 is matchable.) Each candidate must also agree to:

- Limit campaign spending for all primary elections to $10 million plus a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA). This is called the national spending limit; in 1988, it was $27,660,000.
- Limit campaign spending in each state to a specified amount (determined by the FEC using a population-based formula set out in the law).
- Limit spending from personal funds to $50,000.

The law exempts the payment of some expenses from the spending limit. For example, legal and accounting expenses incurred solely to ensure the campaign's compliance with the campaign finance laws do not count against the expenditure limits.

Note also that the spending limits and the limit on a candidate's spending from personal funds are conditions a candidate must agree to in order to receive public funds. Participation in the public funding program is voluntary. If a candidate does not choose to receive public funds, he or she need not abide by the expenditure limits or the limits on the personal funds of the candidate.

Once Presidential candidates have established eligibility for matching payments, they may receive public funding to match contributions from individuals, up to $250 per individual contributor. To be matchable, contributions must be made by check or money order.

Even if a candidate no longer campaigns actively in primary elections, he or she may continue to request public funds to pay off qualified campaign debts into the year following an election (although contributions must be deposited in the campaign account by December 31 of the election year to be eligible for matching). Each eligible candidate may receive public funds totaling up to one-half of the national spending limit for the primary campaign. In 1984 Ronald Reagan became the first candidate to receive the maximum in matching funds. Usually, however, candidates also receive non-matchable contributions (such as contributions from political committees) and thus raise more money than they receive in matching funds.

Convention Funding

Each major political party is entitled to $4 million plus the COLA to finance its national Presidential nominating convention. In 1988, the Democratic and the Republican parties each received $9,220,000 for nominating conventions. A qualified minor party may also become eligible for partial convention funding, based on its Presidential candidate's share of the popular vote in the preceding Presidential election. Although a party convention committee may not spend more than the amount to which a major party is entitled, the law provides that certain supplemental services may be provided by the host state and city governments and by other local groups.

General Election Funding

The presidential nominee of each major party may become eligible for an outright public grant of $20 million plus a COLA. In 1988, the Republican and Democratic tickets each received $46,100,000. To be eligible for the public funds, the candidate must limit spending to the amount of the grant and may not accept private contributions for the campaign. (Private contributions, subject to contribution limits, may be accepted for a special account maintained to pay for certain legal and accounting expenses; these legal and accounting expenses are not subject to the overall expenditure limit.) Each candidate may also spend up to $50,000 from personal funds.

Minor party candidates and new party candidates may become eligible for partial public funding of their general election campaigns if they or their parties win at least 5 percent of the popular vote. (For more information, see Part 9004 of the Commission's regulations.) Although minor and new party candidates may supplement public funds with private contributions and may exempt some fundraising costs from their expenditure limit, they are otherwise subject to the same spending limit and other requirements that apply to major party candidates. To date, only John Anderson, a new party candidate in 1980, has received funds under this provision.

The Presidential Election Campaign Fund

As we mentioned, the money in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund comes from the dollars that taxpayers voluntarily check off on their federal income tax returns. (The checkoff does not affect the total amount of taxes paid or any refund due.) On March 9, 1989, the Commission voted unanimously to notify Congress that the Fund is running out of money. In a letter sent to all the Commission's oversight committees, the FEC Chairman warned that, based on FEC projections, "by 1996 the Fund will lack sufficient monies to finance the Presidential elections."

This impending shortfall stems from two conflicting trends. Taxpayer money flowing into the Fund has declined, while Fund payouts have sharply increased. In 1987, 21 percent of

taxpayers checked off $33 million, down from a high of $41 million checked off by nearly 29 percent of taxpayers in 1980. At the same time, election payouts have increased dramatically. In 1976, $70 million was paid for Presidential elections. By contrast, during the 1988 election cycle, payouts amounted to more than $175 million.

Under the current law, in the event of insufficient funds, the general election and the conventions receive first priority. This means that Presidential primary candidates would be the first to be affected if a shortage occurred. The law further provides that, if there are not enough funds to cover general election entitlements, a pro rata distribution of funds will be made. Under these circumstances, private contributions would be reintroduced in the general election to make up for any shortfall in the Fund. The Commission noted, "Unless Congress acts soon, the public funding program will cease to function as it has over the last 16 years."

CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

The Commission is also responsible for administering and enforcing the law as it pertains to contributions and expenditures made to influence Federal elections. Under the election law, contributions include gifts of money, loans (other than loans made by lending institutions in the ordinary course of business) and gifts of goods and services. Uncompensated volunteer work is not considered a contribution. The Act prohibits contributions from some sources and imposes limits on all contributions.

Expenditures include purchases and payments made to influence federal elections. They, too, are subject to certain prohibitions and limits.

Prohibitions

Certain sources are prohibited from making contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections. Corporations, labor organizations and national banks are prohibited from making contributions or expenditures. (Such organizations may, however, establish political committees; see below.) The Act also prohibits contributions from federal contractors and contributions made by one person in the name of another person. Contributions of cash (currency) in excess of $100 per campaign period per person are prohibited, as are contributions exceeding limits.

Foreign nationals are prohibited from making contributions in connection with any election in the United States — federal, state or local. This prohibition does not apply to noncitizens who have permanent residence in the U.S. (i.e., those who have "green cards.")

Contribution Limits

An individual may contribute up to $1,000 per election to a federal candidate's committee. Because the limits are on a per-election basis, the individual could contribute $1,000 for the primary and an additional $1,000 for the general. Contributions from an individual are also subject to an overall annual limit: an individual may contribute up to $25,000 per year to federal committees.

Contributions made by political committees are also subject to limits. Of particular interest are contributions made by political action committees, or PACs. "PAC" is not defined in the Act or the Commission's regulations, but the term generally refers to two kinds of political committees. The first are separate segregated funds (SSFs), political committees established by corporations, labor organizations or incorporated membership organizations. Although the Act prohibits such groups from making contributions from their treasury funds, it specifically permits such groups to establish, administer and solicit contributions to an SSF, which may then make contributions. (An SSF may solicit contributions only from its solicitable class; for more information, see the FEC's "Campaign Guide for Corporations and Labor Organizations.") The second type of political committee referred to as a PAC is a nonconnected committee: a committee that is **not** an authorized candidate's committee, a party committee, or a committee connected to a corporation or labor organization. Nonconnected committees are often ideological organizations or groups that focus on a particular issue. A PAC's contribution limit to a candidate's authorized campaign committee is either $5,000 per election (for a qualified multicandidate committee) or $1,000 per election (for other committees). Unlike individuals, political committees are not subject to an overall annual limit on contributions.

Under the Act, all political committees established, financed, maintained or controlled by the same corporation, labor organization, person or group of persons (including any parent, subsidiary, branch, division, department or local unit) are affiliated, and affiliated committees share one contribution limit. This is often called the "antiproliferation rule" because it prohibits an organization from evading contribution limits by establishing numerous political committees.

Other forms of support

The Act includes several exemptions for supporting federal candidates that do not result in contributions. For example, individuals may volunteer their unpaid services and certain items (food and beverages) to federal candidates and committees. Although some exempt activity never counts as a contribution, other such activities are subject to a ceiling and become contributions once the ceiling is exceeded. For additional information, see the brochure "Volunteer Activity."

Individuals and political committees may also support candidates by making independent expenditures. An independent expenditure is an expenditure for a communication that expressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate and that is not made with the cooperation or consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or any of his or her agents or authorized committees. Independent expenditures may be made without limit, but they are subject to reporting requirements. Also, contributions to independent expenditure committees are subject to contribution limits.

National and state party committees, in addition to making contributions, may each make limited expenditures on behalf of

the party's congressional nominees in the general election. These are called coordinated party expenditures. The limit for these expenditures, derived using a formula set out in the Act, is published each year by the FEC.

State and local party organizations and committees may also engage in certain activities that benefit federal candidates but are exempt from the definitions of contribution and expenditure. An organization may pay for grassroots campaign materials; prepare and distribute slate cards and sample ballots; and conduct voter drives for the party's presidential nominee in the general election without making a contribution, provided that the activity meets the specific conditions set out in the Act. Although sample ballots and slate cards may be distributed by direct mail, no other general public political advertising may be used for these exempt activities.

DISCLOSURE

Under the campaign finance laws, political committees must file reports of receipts and disbursements. The Commission's disclosure of campaign finance activity is based on these reports.

The point at which a political committee must register and begin filing reports varies according to the type of political committee. For example, an individual becomes a candidate under the Act when his or her campaign exceeds $5,000 in contributions or expenditures. (An individual may, of course, run for office even if the campaign does not exceed $5,000 in activity.) Within 15 days of passing the $5,000 threshold, the candidate must file a Statement of Candidacy naming a principal campaign committee. The committee must then register and begin filing campaign finance reports. The committee must disclose its total receipts and disbursements and must also itemize all contributions from other political committees, as well as contributions from individuals who have contributed over $200 to the committee in the calendar year. Both contributions of money and contributions of goods (in-kind contributions) are reported. Disbursements are subject to similar itemization. A campaign committee's report must be filed simultaneously with the appropriate state office as well.

The reports of political committees are available from the FEC's Public Records Office, which makes the reports available for review and copying within 48 hours of receipt. The Commission also maintains a computerized database for enhanced public disclosure. Computerized indexes, which sort and aggregate financial data, are available from the Public Records Office. Selected computerized indexes are also available on-line from state election offices participating in the FEC State Access Program. Moreover, the FEC also offers a Direct Access Program affording users of personal computers on-line access to computerized campaign finance data through a nationwide telecommunications network.

The Act places restrictions on the use of information copied from the campaign finance reports and statements. Information on individual contributors may not be sold or used for commercial purposes or solicitation.

VOLUNTARY COMPLIANCE

The Commission seeks to promote voluntary compliance with the election laws. It does this by providing information to help candidates and committees comply with the law; by conducting a desk audit of every report and, when warranted, an on-site field audit as well; and, in cases where the law has been violated, by trying to reach a mutual agreement with the violator.

Advisory Opinions

Any person affected by the Act or the Commission's regulations may request an Advisory Opinion (AO). An AO is an official Commission response to a question relating to the application of the federal campaign finance laws to a specific factual situation. An AO provides legal guidance to the person who requested it and to anyone else involved in a specific activity "indistinguishable in all its material aspects" from the activity described in the AO.

Enforcement

The FEC has exclusive jurisdiction over the civil enforcement of the Act. Possible violations are brought to the Commission's attention either internally, through audits or reviews of committee reports, or externally, through complaints filed by members of the public or through referrals from other government agencies. The Act sets out the procedures the FEC follows in enforcement matters. If, after investigation, the Commission finds probable cause to believe the law has been violated, the agency must try to settle the case informally through a conciliation agreement before filing a civil action. Enforcement matters may lead the agency to file a civil action or to refer the case to the Department of Justice for criminal action. All phases of the enforcement process must remain confidential until a case is closed and put on the public record.

Information

The Commission's publications promote compliance by explaining the law, in easy-to-understand terms, to a variety of readers. The publications include a monthly newsletter, in-depth campaign manuals and a series of brochures that focus on specific aspects of the law.

The Commission also maintains a toll-free telephone line providing access to staff who can answer questions about the requirements of the law. If you have questions or would like to order FEC publications, please do not hesitate to contact the

The Information Services Division
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
WASHINGTON DC 20463
toll free on **800/424-9530**
or direct on **202/376-3120**
TDD service: **202/376-3136**.

by William C. Kimberling, Deputy Director
National Clearinghouse on
Election Administration

The National Clearinghouse on Election Administration

The National Clearinghouse on Election Administration is an agency of the Federal Election Commission. Our overall objective is to enhance the honesty, integrity, and efficiency of the federal election process by providing information and assistance to State and local election officials, to State legislatures and legislative reference bureaus, and to other interested organizations regarding the conduct of federal elections. Pursuant to that objective, we have organized our activities into five program areas:

- Research
- Information
- Voting System Standards
- Voting Accessibility, and
- Conferences/Workshops/and Speakers.

The **Clearinghouse contract research program** focuses on major problems in the administration of federal elections. The resulting reports (see list under Ordering Instructions in the back of this issue) address such topics as:

- Election Case Law
- Computerizing Election Administration
- Providing Ballot Access to Parties and Candidates
- State Campaign Finance Laws
- Voter Information and Education Programs
- Absentee Balloting Laws and Procedures, and
- Contested Elections and Recounts.

The **Clearinghouse information program** is intended to serve the more immediate needs of the election community. Our toll free line is available to you for any questions you may have regarding the federal election process. In addition to the topics above, we maintain basic statistics on voter registration, voter turnout, and the results of federal elections. Our reference files span such topics as State registration techniques and procedures, polling hours, voting system vendors, federal laws affecting the election process, and proposed federal legislation.

At the request of the Congress, the Clearinghouse has lately been engaged in the development of voluntary **performance standards for punchcard, marksense, and direct electronic voting systems**. These standards are intended to establish industry-wide criteria for minimum levels of hardware and software performance. They will provide vendors with design guidelines to ensure the adequate performance of their devices and, at the same time, will provide election officials who employ them with the assurance that any chosen system which meets the standards will provide acceptable performance.

The **Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act** of 1984 (P.L. 98-435) requires, among other things, that each two years States report to the FEC on the accessibility of their polling places. Although any questions or problems that local election officials might have regarding the requirements of P.L. 98-435 should first be addressed to your State chief election official, we offer any advice or assistance we can provide you in meeting the objectives of this legislation.

The Clearinghouse staff are normally available to participate in **conferences, workshops, and speaking engagements** on a variety of topics including:

- absentee voting procedures
- voter information programs
- voter accessibility
- voting system standards or
- other topics of interest.

Invitations should be in writing. And, because of budget

constraints, any support (such as hotel costs or transportation costs) improve the chances of our being able to accept.

THE ANNUAL CLEARINGHOUSE ADVISORY PANEL MEETING

All election officials are invited to attend the annual Clearinghouse Advisory Panel meeting which will be held this year on August 24-25 in the ballroom of the Hotel Washington in Washington, DC. Our proposed agenda includes an authoritative discussion of legislation pending in the Congress; a recap of the 1988 election by Richard Scammon; a discussion by the Department of Justice on detecting, prosecuting, and preventing election fraud; a presentation by the U.S. Postal service on their National Change of Address program and other election related matters; a discussion of current and future activities of the Clearinghouse; and a presentation of the proposed Standards for Voting Systems.

There is no registration fee, but attendees are responsible for their own transportation, room arrangements, and meals. Special room rates ($87.00 single, $105.00 double) are available if you specify that you are attending the FEC Clearinghouse meeting. Contact the Hotel Washington, Pennsylvania Avenue at 15th Street, Washington, DC 20004 or toll free on 800/424-9540. For further information or assistance, contact Janet McKee in the Clearinghouse toll free on 800/424-9530.

CURRENT PROJECTS AND FORTHCOMING PRODUCTS

The Clearinghouse is continuing work on several projects which will yield over eight volumes of reports in the coming year.

■ **Federal Election Statistics** is a Clearinghouse Technical Report which summarizes State and National Voting Age Population, Number of Registered Voters, Turnout, and Results in presidential elections from 1960 through 1988. Copies may be obtained free of charge by contacting the Clearinghouse.

■ **Ballot Access** for federal offices is nearly complete and will yield four volumes. The first volume, *Issues and Options*, is intended primarily for State election officials and legislators and will take the reader step by step through the ballot access process examining at each point alternative procedures in light of their policy, administrative, and legal ramifications. It will encompass such topics as fees, petition requirements, nominating papers, timeframes, and petition verification procedures. The second two volumes will describe for each State the ballot access requirements *For Presidential Candidates* and *For Congressional Candidates* respectively. These volumes will summarize requirements for major party, minor party, independent, and write-in candidates in both primary and general federal elections. The final volume will address State ballot access requirements *For Political Parties*. We anticipate that these reports will be available for purchase in January of 1990.

■ **Election Directory 90** will provide the names, titles, addresses, and telephone numbers of the chief State election officials as well as other State officials involved in the election process. It will also contain election-related federal officials including the Federal Election Commission, the Department of Justice, the Voter Assistance Program in the Department of Defense, and the Bureau of Census. As an additional service, the biennial Directory lists the appropriate State or local addresses to be used when forwarding notices cancelling a new registrant's former registration. This desk-top volume will be available for purchase in January 1990.

■ **Election Case Law** represents a new type of Clearinghouse product. This report will identify and summarize landmark judicial decisions along with all significant federal and State Supreme Court cases involving elections over the past twenty years or so. Cases will be organized according to the primary functions of an election system — administration, drawing boundries, providing ballot access, registering voters, providing voter information, balloting, tabulating votes, and resolving challenges. Our purpose is to provide election officials, attorneys, courts, and legislators with a ready reference to the pattern of judicial thinking on election matters. We anticipate that this volume will be available for purchase in the spring of 1990.

■ **Contested Elections and Recounts** will yield two products. The first volume, *Issues and Options*, will explore the step-by-step process of resolving challenges to federal election outcomes. At each stage, alternative procedures available to the States will be examined in terms of their policy, administrative, and legal implications. This first volume is directed primarily toward State election officials and legislators in order to assist them in conducting a comprehensive and dispassionate review of their laws and procedures governing contested elections and recounts. The second volume, *Current Practices*, will describe each State's method of resolving contested federal elections. Both volumes should be available for purchase in the late spring of 1990.

■ **Campaign Finance Law 90** will, as with the previous volumes in this series, provide quick reference charts as well as detailed State-by-State descriptions of **State** campaign finance report filing requirements , contribution and solicitation limitations, special tax or public financing provisions, regulatory agencies, and many other important features of State campaign finance laws. This volume, especially popular with PAC's and State campaign offices, will be available for purchase in the spring of 1990.

■ **The Voting Systems Standards Project**, the development of voluntary standards for computerized voting devices, is nearing completion. We will publish a notice in the *Federal Register* this summer announcing the availability of four draft documents for comment. The first of the four, *Performance and Test Standards for Punchcard, Marksense, and Direct Recording Electronic Voting Systems*, presents performance standards and test requirements deemed necessary to help ensure the accuracy, integrity, and reliability of computerized voting systems. The other three documents, *A Plan for Implementing the FEC Voting Systems Standards*, the *System Escrow Plan*, and *A Process for Evaluating Independent Test Authorities* describe aspects of implementing the standards. We will place a second notice in the *Federal Register* early this Autumn to announce the issuance of the final documents. Management guidelines will follow.

by Craig Donsanto, Director
Election Crimes Branch
Department of Justice

The Election Crimes Branch

The Election Crimes Branch (ECB) is a component of the Public Integrity Section of the U.S. Department of Justice's Criminal Division. It was created in 1980 to oversee the nationwide enforcement (e.g. investigation and prosecution) of federal crimes against the electoral process. The Branch is staffed by a Director and two Attorneys at Departmental Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and it is assisted by some 121 Assistant United States Attorneys located throughout the 94 federal judicial districts of the United States who have been appointed to serve as District Election Officers. By Departmental regulation, all investigations and criminal prosecutions involving election crimes must be approved by the Election Crimes Branch, and it is customary for the ECB to become deeply involved in the daily management of criminal investigations and prosecutions of cases of this sort.

There are essentially four types of criminal offenses that are assigned to the ECB, and are subject to its management and direction. These are:

- Election frauds involving corrupt endeavors to interfere with the way voters are registered, and the way ballots are cast and tabulated;
- Schemes to violate the campaign financing and reporting requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act which entail large amounts of money and intentional misconduct on the part of the subject;
- Criminal patronage cases involving schemes to extract involuntary political contributions or activity from public employees, to improperly politicize federal programs or employment, or to politicize areas where federal personnel are engaged in official duties; and
- Violations of federal penal restrictions on the use of certain types of public funds for lobbying purposes.

Following the revision of the Federal Election Campaign Act in 1976, and the creation of the Federal Election Commission as an administrative enforcer of most FECA violations, the role of the federal prosecutor in election crime matters has focused principally on prosecutions of criminal abuses of the franchise. The right to vote — and to have one's vote counted in a fair and impartial manner — is the cornerstone of the American democratic process. Where election frauds are allowed to occur, corrupt government inevitably results. Therefore, the prosecution of corruptions of the electoral process is among the highest law enforcement priorities of the Justice Department.

Most forms of election "fraud" are easily recognized. It is, for example, a federal crime to pay voters for participating in elections where federal candidates are on the ballot, to vote more than once in such elections, to stuff ballot boxes, to intimidate voters, to destroy ballots, to falsify voter registrations, to impersonate voters, or to falsify election returns.

Other types of voter frauds are less obvious. Since the principle underlying the elective franchise in the United States is the free exercise of "electoral will" by individual voters at the polls, any activity that has as its intended objective the corruption, usurpation, or exploitation of the right of individual voters to cast their ballots as they choose can present an actionable federal offense. The Justice Department has, for example, prosecuted cases involving the intentional exploitation of mentally infirm

rest home patients, and the casting of "proxy" ballots in the names of absent voters who do not personally participate in marking the ballots attributed to them.

Important as this subject is, the Justice Department does not become involved in the prosecution of **all** voter frauds. Since the United States Constitution leaves the administration of the electoral process principally to the States, the body of federal statutory law dealing with election frauds has heretofore generally been confined to those that take place in "mixed" elections, where federal and non-federal candidates are at least voted upon simultaneously. Federal prosecutorial involvement in voter frauds that take place in purely local elections is generally confined to a limited number of voter fraud types that can be reached under general federal fraud laws, and which take place in jurisdictions where prosecution by local authorities under state laws is not a viable option.

The Justice Department also does not prosecute as federal crimes most instances involving campaign "dirty tricks", or other things that take place during the campaigning process. Federal prosecution is generally confined to corruptions of the process by which ballots are cast and tabulated. The thrust of federal law enforcement, moreover, is to bring to justice persons responsible for organizing election frauds and those who knowingly benefit from them. The Criminal Division has for years followed a standard policy of not prosecuting individual voters whose only involvement in a voting fraud scheme was that they allowed their vote to be bought or otherwise co-opted.

The main mission of the Election Crimes Branch is to develop prosecutive strategies to permit federal intervention in voter fraud cases when and where necessary to protect the integrity of a fundamental right of United States citizenship, and to see that scarce federal prosecutive and investigative resources are allocated in an efficient manner to this crucial problem.

The ECB has also recently devised, and it is responsible for implementing on a case-by-case basis, a new prosecutive theory aimed at applying general federal fraud laws (which are felonies) to schemes to disrupt and impede the Federal Election Commission's enforcement and public disclosure functions through using clandestine means (e.g. cash, conduits, direct bill payments, etc.) to make campaign contributions that are illegal under the FECA. In this way, appropriate criminal remedies have been successfully brought to bear on the perpetrators of schemes to intentionally disrupt the nation's important campaign financing and public disclosure laws. Equally important, through this new approach to this type of case, the crippling investigative handicap created by the FECA's special three-year statute of limitations (2 U.S.C. s 455) for criminal FECA violations brought under FECA's internal penal sanction (2 U.S.C. s 437g(d)) has been largely overcome. The limitations period governing all federal crimes except those brought under the FECA's internal sanction is five years rather than three.

Election crime matters are investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the general supervision of the Election Crimes Branch. Citizens who believe they have information indicating that a criminal offense has occurred in connection with the electoral process should normally first communicate that complaint to the FBI office located nearest to their home. That information will then be forwarded through federal law enforcement channels to the Election Crimes Branch at Departmental Headquarters where it will be evaluated and a decision made whether a sufficient factual and legal predicate for a federal criminal offense is present.

Each year, the Justice Department's election crime program prosecutes approximately 150 criminal cases involving electoral abuse and patronage. These investigations and prosecutions are extremely time consuming and labor intensive. The ECB must, therefore, regularly make critical management decisions concerning where federal law enforcement resources can best and most effectively be utilized in this important area. As a general rule, the federal government intervenes in election crime matters mainly where federal interests (e.g. the election of federal officers, or the administration of federal programs) are adversely affected by the crimes alleged, or where federal intervention is necessary as "prosecutor of last resort" to redress long-standing patterns of gross abuse in local jurisdictions that are not equipped to seek criminal remedies under local law.

Finally, the ECB conducts frequent training sessions for federal law enforcement personnel in the investigation and prosecution of election crime cases, it advises local and state election officials on the anti-fraud aspects of election administration, and it participates actively with the Clearinghouse Division of the Federal Election Commission on ballot security projects such as the Standards Project for computer assisted vote tabulation equipment.

Approximately every two years, the Election Crimes Branch publishes a book entitled *Federal Prosecution of Election Offenses*, which is the standard reference work for federal investigators and prosecutors in this area of law enforcement. The most recent edition of this volume was published in May of 1988, and is available for sale to the general public through the Superintendent of Documents. Orders should cite the title and stock number 027-000-01515-5, should be accompanied by a check payable to the Superintendent of Documents in the amount of $4.50, and should be addressed to:

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
WASHINGTON DC 20402

by Barry Weinberg, Acting Chief
Voting Section, Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice

The Voting Section of The Civil Rights Division

The Voting Section of the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division enforces federal civil rights voting laws (1) through litigation in the federal district courts, and (2) through administrative actions such as the use of federal observers to monitor polling place activities, and reviewing changes made by state and local governments in their voting standards, practices, and procedures.

Most of our litigation and all of our administrative actions are taken to enforce the Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. 1973 *et seq*. We also are responsible for enforcing other federal civil rights voting laws that protect racial minorities, as well as the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act, and the Elderly and Handicapped Voting Rights Act.

Our lawsuits are civil actions. The complaint that we file to initiate these lawsuits describes that actions that a jurisdiction (a state, county, city, school district, or other body) has taken which we claim violate federal law, and then asks the court to order the jurisdiction to take steps that will bring it into compliance with the law. Most often, the lawsuits that we file to enforce the Voting Rights Act challenge a method of election that results in a denial or abridgement of minorities' right to vote.

For example, we frequently claim in such lawsuits that an at-large method of election or the use of multi-member districts dilutes minorities's voting rights (under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. 1973). In these cases we seek to have the jurisdiction propose a method of election that is racially fair under the circumstances. In some cases the violation of the Act is cured by a new method of election that consists of single-member districts. In other cases a combination of at-large seats and single-member districts is found to be racially fair, and in still other cases the discriminatory nature of an at-large method of election can be cured by the abandonment of a majority vote requirement or numbered (or designated) positions in the at-large election system.

The impact of such lawsuits brought by the Voting Section, and by private plaintiffs, has changed the political map throughout the nation. Representatives of racial and language minority communities elected from fairly drawn districts now sit as members of state legislatures, county commissions, city councils and school boards from which they previously has been systematically excluded by a method of election that had a discriminatory impact. Moreover, lawsuits recently have been filed by the Voting Section under Section 2 and the language minority provisions (Sections 4(f) (4) and 203) of the Voting Rights Act to compel states and counties in the southwest to provide the American Indians, in Indian languages, essential information about the election process, including information regarding qualifying procedures and deadlines, and translations of the ballot.

Lawsuits brought by the Voting Section under the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act were necessary against 5 states during the presidential primary elections when absentee ballots were mailed out to late to be returned in time to meet the states' primary election deadline. In these cases the states were ordered to count overseas voters' ballots that were postmarked by election day and received back within periods of time ranging from 6 to 14 days after the date of the election, depending on the circumstances of the particular case.

The Voting Section's administrative law enforcement activities are conducted under the "special" provisions of the Voting Rights Act (Section 4). These special provi-

sions apply fully to 9 states (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia), meaning that the provisions apply to the states themselves and to all of the counties and the other subjurisdictions within the states. In 7 other states (California, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota), the special provisions apply only to particular counties and the political units within those counties. (Any of the special provisions can be applied by a federal court to states and counties that are not already subject to the special provisions—that is accomplished under Section 3 of the Voting Rights Act, and can occur only in a Voting Rights Act lawsuit against the jurisdiction.)

The most widely known of the Voting Rights Act's special provisions, and the one that presently has the most impact on states, counties and other jurisdictions is the "preclearance" requirement contained in Section 5 of the Act. By the operation of this provision, any change that a specially covered jurisdiction makes in any standard, practice or procedure with respect to voting is legally unenforceable unless and until the jurisdiction obtains from the federal court in the District of Columbia or from the Attorney General a determination that the change does not have the purpose, and will not have the effect , or denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color or membership in a language minority group.

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that this preclearance requirement of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act applies to any change that affects voting, no matter how minor. Thus, until preclearance is obtained, specially covered jurisdictions may not use changes made by statewide redistricting or reapportionment plans, or a change in the location of a single polling place, or changes in connection with a special election, or candidate qualifying procedures, or voting hours, or an annexation, or voter registration locations, or a method of casting ballots, or a method of election. In short, no change that affects voting in a specially covered jurisdiction may be legally implemented unless and until it is precleared under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

The preclearance decision of whether a voting change has a discriminatory purpose or effect can be obtained most easily under Section 5 by submitting the change and information about it in a letter to the U.S. Attorney General. This is done by sending the submission to: **Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, P.O. Box 66128, Washington, D.C. 20530-6128** (the envelope and the first page should clearly be marked: **Submission Under Section 5**).

Under Section 5 we have 60 days to reach a decision as to voting changes that are submitted for review. It is our practice to respond to every submission by letter, setting out our decision, within 60 days of our receipt of the submission. Most often our response will inform the jurisdiction that the Attorney General has no objection to the use of the submitted changes, or that the Attorney General objects to the implementation of the submitted changes, or that additional information is needed before we can evaluate the submitted changes. Where additional information is requested, the 60 days for decision purposes will begin when we get that information (our letter also sets out the information that we need). The other way a jurisdiction can get review of voting changes under Section 5 is to bring a lawsuit in the Washington, D.C., federal district court seeking a declaratory judgment that the change does not have a discriminatory purpose or effect.

Voting changes can be precleared only if the submitting jurisdiction shows that the changes do not have a discriminatory purpose or effect, and the vast majority of submissions reviewed by the Voting Section are precleared. However, in those instances where a voting change has not been shown to be free of a discriminatory purpose or effect, the Assistance Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, on behalf of the Attorney General, interposes an objection to the use of the change. Changes to which an objection has been interposed remain legally unenforceable.

Each year the Voting Section receives between 3,000 and 4,000 submissions which contain 16,000-23,000 voting changes (a submission usually involves more than one change). Each submission is reviewed, analyzed and given a response within the statutory 60-day period even if no objection is being made. The review and analysis of the vast majority of these submissions usually is done by non-attorney professionals on the Voting Section staff, while some of the submissions are reviewed and analyzed by Voting Section attorneys. But the final determinations of all submissions under Section 5 are made by the Chief of the Voting Section or on his behalf, or by the Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division.

Overall, the Voting Section has a staff of 70. There is a Chief (Gerald W. Jones), 4 Deputy Chiefs (Sandra S. Coleman, J. Gerald Hebert, Steven H. Rosebaum and Barry H. Weinberg), 21 lawyers, 21 equal opportunity specialists and 19 clerical personnel including secretaries and the staff that handles the docketing and records work on Section 5 submissions. The central telephone number for the Voting Section is **(202) 724-5767**. Inquiries about preclearance under Section 5 or about particular Section 5 submissions should be made to **(202) 724-8385**.

The Voting Section and the Federal Election Commission's Clearinghouse on Election Administration have available copies of the Voting Rights Act and 2 sets of guidelines that the Voting Section has published in the Code of Federal Regulations with respect to the preclearance procedures under Section 5 of the Act (28 C.F.R. Part 51) and the language minority provisions of the Act (28 C.F.R. Part 55). Both sets of guidelines contain a listing of the states and counties that are subject to their respective provisions.

by Marshall L. Turner, Chief
1990 Census Redistricting Data Office

The 1990 Census: Redistricting by the Numbers

Once every 10 years, Americans stand up to be counted. To be sure that those we elect to our legislatures represent our views, we all participate in a counting of the population known as the decennial census.

The census plays an important part in the democratic process. Census numbers, coupled with the appropriate federal and State laws, ensure that our voting districts for the United States Congress and for State and local legislatures fairly reflect our numbers.

This article explains where census numbers come from and the role they play in redrawing the boundaries of our legislative and Congressional districts. We look in particular at the maps and statistical tables that State and local governments get from the Census Bureau and use in redistricting.

Apportionment: The Historic Role of the Census

Apportionment is the allocation of 435 Representatives among 50 states. The role of the Census Bureau in the apportionment process is to calculate the apportionment based upon the census results.

The Secretary of Commerce reports the counts for each state to the President within 9 months of Census Day (by December 31, 1990). The President transmits the census count for each state to the Clerk of the House of Representatives within 10 days of the opening of the next session of the Congress.

The President also transmits the number of Representatives to which each state is entitled, in accordance with the method of "equal proportions," as directed by the Congress. Within 15 days, the Clerk of the House must notify the Governor of each state, specifying the number of representatives that state will have in the next Congress.

The Redistricting Process Begins

The Census Bureau has another important deadline to meet.

In December 1975, the Congress passed legislation which became Public Law 94-171. This law authorized the Census Bureau to make special preparations to provide redistricting data needed by the 50 states.

Public Law 94-171 specifies that within a year of Census Day (by April 1, 1991), the Census Bureau must send each state the data it will need to redraw districts for the state legislature. The statistics will include population counts for counties and cities within the state and for much smaller areas — census tracts and census blocks.

At this point it's up to the states. States are responsible for setting their own Congressional and legislative boundaries. P.L. 94-171 set up a voluntary program between the Census Bureau and states that wish to receive population tabulations for election precincts and other geographic areas.

Redistricting usually is undertaken by a state's legislature, unless they choose to have it done by another state entity (in Alaska and Maryland, the Governor initiates the plan). Under the Census Bureau's P.L. 94-171 Program, those responsible for the legislative apportionment or redistricting of each state submit to the Census Bureau a plan identifying the geographic areas (e.g., election precincts) for which they want specific tabulations of population.

When state officials begin the difficult process of redrawing their voting districts, they'll have in hand two important tools from the Census Bureau:

- County block maps
- Statistical tables

First let's describe census block maps.

Mapping America

The data on the P.L. 94-171 printouts won't mean much until you look at the accompanying maps. We've made the maps as clear as possible to convey the smallest area detail.

The map sheets are necessarily large to make names and area code numbers easy to read. The standard sheet is 36" x 44". In

addition, you may find it helpful to assemble the inset maps that show census blocks in densely settled cities.

For states that choose to identify precincts, the maps will show voting districts. Once you find these districts on the map or draw them yourself, you'll be able to begin the redistricting process, moving census tracts or blocks around to create new district boundaries that meet legal criteria and political concerns. Nationally, there will be an estimated 90,000 maps. For New York state, there are likely to be 2,500 or more such sheets. For Boone County, Missouri, where we created these maps in 1988 for a "dress rehearsal census," over two dozen map sheets were required.

The map areas you'll probably work with most are:

- **voting districts**: these are areas defined by states and local governments for elections. They may have other names, such as election districts and precincts.
- **census tracts**: these are statistical areas averaging about 4,000 in population. Counties in metropolitan statistical areas (MSA's) are subdivided into census tracts. These tracts remain constant from census to census and thus are useful in a variety of applications.
- **block numbering areas**: tract-like groups of blocks in areas where there are no census tracts.
- **blocks**: this is the smallest type of census area, averaging nationally about 70 people, and is most commonly a small rectangular area bounded by four streets, in urban areas.

Public Law 94-171 Tables

The Census Bureau will also furnish each state legislature and governor (as required by Public Law 94-171) with a computer tape and printout for the state with each county's voting district counts. The tapes and printouts will show the total population of the state, the county, and each voting district within the county that the state designated. Each total will have the voting population broken out separately. Counts will be shown for these race categories: White; Black; Asian and Pacific Islander; American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut; and "other" races. There is also a count for Hispanics (of any race). To further clarify the population difference between those of Hispanic origin and other race categories, the table has separate totals for non-Hispanics according to major race groups.

Data Available for All

The law requires the Census Bureau to furnish the P.L. 94-171 census maps and redistricting data to the legislature and Governor of each state, automatically, by April 1, 1991. Any other individual or organization can purchase copies of these same public data. Inquires should now be directed to:

Marshall L. Turner, Jr.
Chief, 1990 Census Redistricting
Data Office
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

Conclusion

The responsiveness of government at all levels relies on an accurate count of the population that is reflected in the drawing up of legislative boundaries. As elected or appointed officials, you can help ensure accuracy by actively encouraging all your residents to be counted. If you would like to find out more about census redistricting materials, please let us know. We welcome your questions.

THE EFFECT OF THE 1980 CENSUS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

State	House Seats 1972-1980	House Seats 1982-1990	Difference
Alabama	7	7	-
Alaska	1	1	-
Arizona	4	5	+1
Arkansas	4	4	-
California	43	45	+2
Colorado	5	6	+1
Connecticut	6	6	-
Delaware	1	1	-
Florida	15	19	+4
Georgia	10	10	-
Hawaii	2	2	-
Idaho	2	2	-
Illinois	24	22	-2
Indiana	11	10	-1
Iowa	6	6	-
Kansas	5	5	-
Kentucky	7	7	-
Louisiana	8	8	-
Maine	2	2	-
Maryland	8	8	-
Massachusetts	12	11	-1
Michigan	19	18	-1
Minnesota	8	8	-
Mississippi	5	5	-
Missouri	10	9	-1
Montana	2	2	-
Nebraska	3	3	-
Nevada	1	2	+1
New Hampshire	2	2	-
New Jersey	15	14	-1
New Mexico	2	3	+1
New York	39	34	-5
North Carolina	11	11	-
North Dakota	1	1	-
Ohio	23	21	-2
Oklahoma	6	6	-
Oregon	4	5	+1
Pennsylvania	25	23	-2
Rhode Island	2	2	-
South Carolina	6	6	-
South Dakota	2	1	-1
Tennessee	8	9	+1
Texas	24	27	+3
Utah	2	3	+1
Vermont	1	1	-
Virginia	10	10	-
Washington	7	8	+1
West Virginia	4	4	-
Wisconsin	9	9	-
Wyoming	1	1	-

TOTAL HOUSE SEATS: 435

Census 2

by Jerry Jennings, Statistician
Voting and Registration Section
Bureau of Census

Current Population Reports As A Resource In Election Studies

The Bureau of the Census provides several data sets of immediate use in election studies. In addition to the findings of the Census of Population conducted every 10 years, the Bureau publishes continuing and up-to-date statistics on population size and characteristics, and other special studies of the American people. Data are issued in eight separate series of reports under the general title, Current Population Reports. Two of the series are directly relevant to election studies:

SERIES P-25, POPULATION ESTIMATES AND PROJECTIONS.

Monthly estimates of the total population of the United States; annual mid-year (July 1) estimates of the population of the United States by single year of age, race, and sex, and for States, 10-year age groups and sex; annual estimates of the components of change. Periodic estimates of the metropolitan and non-metropolitan population. Projections of the future population of the United States and individual States. Biennial resident voting age projections for November of election years for States. About 20 reports each year.

Before going further with this summary of Current Population Reports on population counts and characteristics, some definitions of populations used in Series P-25 need to be clarified.

- **Total population including Armed Forces overseas**. Resident population of the United States plus the Armed Forces stationed in foreign countries, Puerto Rico, and the outlying areas, but excluding their dependents and all other civilians living abroad.
- **Resident population**. U.S. population as shown in most of the decennial census reports. It includes residents of the 50 States and the District of Columbia, including Armed Forces stationed in each State.
- **Civilian population**. Resident population less the Armed Forces stationed in the United States.

Unless otherwise indicated estimates and projections are made as of July 1. Estimates at the national level generally cover the total, resident, and civilian populations; estimates at the state level cover the resident population. Projections at the national level cover the total population including Armed Forces overseas and, at the state level, the resident population. Readers will be interested to know that the Bureau has no voting age population estimates or projections for counties more recent than the 1980 decennial census, although experimental county estimates through 1985 for persons 20 years and over could be derived — contact Sam Davis for further information (301) 763-5072.

The following tables list Current Population Reports containing estimates and projections and specifies the years for which consistent July 1 data are provided:

Journal readers using current voting age population data will need to know that Series P-25, No. 1019 is, and will be, the **only** Bureau of the Census publication with voting age estimates for November, 1988; all other estimates and projections are for July 1. The Series P-25 November state by age estimate/projection series begins with November 1948 (Number 15) and continues biennially through November (1988 No. 1019). Up until 1966 (No. 342), these November voting age populations were estimates, after that date they are short-term projections published some months prior to the election. This report also includes national resident voting age population and vote counts recorded by the Clerk of the House, U.S. Congress, for years 1930 and later.

Publications in Series P-25 are available from the Superintendent of Documents or directly from the Bureau. For copies of the reports and information on the methodology used in constructing the estimates or projections, contact the appropriate person listed at the end of this article. Since many libraries subscribe to the Current Population Reports series, it is often possible to locate a copy of these reports quickly through the reference librarian at a nearby university or municipal library.

A second data series, containing population characteristics from the Current Population Survey is the nation's main source of information on who registers and votes, as well as on changes in relative turnout among groups over time.

I. Population Estimates

Type of population estimate	Years covered	Series P-25 report number
United States by:		
Age, sex, and race	1980 to 1987	1022
Age, sex, and race	1970 to 1979	917
Age, sex, and race	1960 to 1969	519
Age, sex, and color	1900 to 1959	311
States by:		
Age, sex, and components[1]	1980 to 1987	1024
Age	1970 to 1979	998

[1]April 1 for 1980, July 1 for all other years.

II. Population Projections

Type of population projection	Years covered	Series P-25 report number
United States by:		
Age, sex, and race	1988 to 2080	1018
States by:		
Age, sex, and race	1990 to 2010	1017
Voting age, by age, race, and sex	November 1988	1019

SERIES P-20, POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

From the Current Population Survey (CPS): current national and, in some cases, regional data on geographic residence and mobility, fertility, education, school enrollment, marital status, numbers and characteristics of households and families, voting and registration (including limited data for States), and persons of Hispanic origin. The universe for reports based on CPS is the civilian noninstitutional population. About 20 reports each year.

Within the Series P-20, the one most useful for election studies, is the biennial report on voting and registration in Federal elections compiled from the November supplement to the CPS. In Presidential election years an advance report is issued in January or February following the election; a more detailed report is issued later. In recent years, only a final report has been issued in off years. Except for 1988, all references in the table below are to final reports. Again, a universe definition is in order.

> **Civilian noninstitutional population.** The civilian population less inmates of institutions. The civilian noninstitutional population comprises the universe for most Series P-20 reports.

The CPS supplement on voting and registration was developed because growing nationwide concern over voter turnout among Blacks in the 1960s generated a need for reliable information on the extent to which Blacks in different regions of the nation actually registered and voted. In response to this need for data, the Census Bureau in 1964 added a supplement to its November Current Population Survey in even numbered years asking respondents of voting age if they had voted in the election held two weeks earlier. This supplement, funded solely by the Bureau, has remained a part of the Current Population Survey since that time and results of the surveys showing the extent to which population groups vote and (since 1966) register are published biennially in Series P-20. Data are provided on citizenship and voting and registration cross classified with such socioeconomic variables as education, occupation and class of worker, family income, presence of children, and school enrollment for persons 18 to 24 years old. Most of these characteristics are iterated for race and sex groups. Geographical categories include the United States, regions, divisions, metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, and States, although socioeconomic characteristics are generally not shown for sub-U. S. geographic areas.

As in other surveys of voting and registration, respondents in CPS tend to misreport their voting behavior, resulting in higher estimates of turnout in the survey than official counts show. For a detailed discussion of discrepancies between CPS survey results and official vote counts, see the section on Evaluation of the Accuracy of the Data in any of the detailed Series P-20 reports noted below.

Data from these CPS supplements are now the nation's main source of information for comparing registration and turnout among subgroups of the population. A year-by-year description of the supplement and major publications based on it are available on request from the author.

It is important to remember that the universe in the CPS, that is, in Series P-20 reports, differs from the voting age population estimates encountered in Series P-25 reports. For example, a common mistake is to confuse the November voting age projections in Series P-25, always the resident population, with the voting age population occurring in Series P-20 reports, always the civilian noninstitutional population.

Each type of population has its appropriate use. One should use the resident voting age population shown in Series P-25 to compute a voting rate when the desire is for the percentage of the total U.S. population who voted based on official counts of votes. If, however, voting rates by characteristics of the population, e.g. age, sex, or race are desired, and the source of the voting information is CPS, then the comparable universe to use in the denominator for the percentage is the civilian noninstitutional population.

Copies of Series P-20 reports are available at a small cost from the Superintendent of Documents or by calling the Bureau directly (see list of contacts).

A public use computer tape of the November CPS data file for 1972 and later even numbered years is available at modest cost. For information on purchasing the tape contact:

Data Users Services Division
Customer Services (Tape)
Bureau of the Census
WASHINGTON DC 20233
(301) 763-4100

Telephone contacts:

Population Estimates:

National	Fred Hollman	(301) 763-7950
State	Edwin Byerly	(301) 763-5072
November voting age (National and state)	Donald Starsinic	(301) 763-7722

Population Projections:

National	Gregory Spencer	(301) 763-7950
State	Signe Wetrogan	(301) 763-1902

Voting and Registration:

Turnout by voter characteristics	Jerry T. Jennings	(301) 763-4547

III. Voting and Registration

Presidential years	Series P-20 report number	Congressional years
1988	435	
	414	1986
1984	405	
	383	1982
1980	370	
	344	1978
1976	322	
	293	1974
1972	253	
	228	1970
1968	192	
	174	1966
1964	143	

by Henry Valentino, Director
Federal Voting Assistance Program
Department of Defense

The Federal Voting Assistance Program

The Federal Voting Assistance Program, located within the Office of the Secretary of Defense, was created in 1955 for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the 1955 Federal Voting Assistance Act which was intended to assist members of the Armed Forces in registering and voting. The Program's responsibilities were expanded in 1968 and also in 1975 by the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and again in 1986 by the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act which combines and supercedes the 1955 and 1975 laws.

The overall objective of the Federal Voting Assistance Program is to facilitate absentee registration and voting by members of the uniformed services on active duty as well as their spouses and dependents members of the merchant marine as well as their spouses and dependents, and any other U.S. citizen residing overseas who is qualified or (but for residence) would be qualified to vote in the last place in which the person was domiciled before leaving the United States.

Pursuant to the objective, the Federal Voting Assistance Program:

- prescribes the official post card form (the Federal Post Card Application) recommended to the States for use as an application by those listed above for both absentee registration and an absentee ballot
- prescribes the envelope design suggested to the States for mailing absentee ballots to and from those listed above
- compiles and distributes the *Voting Assistance Guide* which summarizes State absentee registration and absentee voting procedures relevant to those listed above
- prescribes the design of the Federal write-in ballot (including a secrecy envelope and mailing envelope)for use, under certain circumstances, by those listed above
- may approve exemptions to the use of the Federal write-in absentee ballot
- provides an ombudsman service for both local election officials and those listed above, and
- consults with State and local election officials on way of improving absentee registration and voting services to those listed above.

THE FEDERAL POST CARD APPLICATION

The Federal Voting Assistance Program office is responsible for designing the Federal Post Card Application (FPCA) which is familiar to most election officials as the form most frequently used by uniformed and overseas citizens to request registration or an absentee ballot.

The FPCA represents an attempt to combine all the minimum information requirements of the 55 major jurisdictions (States, District, and Territories) into a single universal form. Few jurisdictions require that every item on the form be completed, but all require at least some of the data elements in order for uniformed or overseas citizens to register or to obtain an absentee ballot. If the form seems a little complicated, then, or if you receive applications which at first glance seem incomplete, please remember that some jurisdictions require information that yours may not.

A new version of the FPCA, which began to appear toward the end of the 1986 election cycle, has an improved formal and forms to new international postal regulations. In addition to the new format, several minor items of information no longer required by any State were removed. A new "remarks" section was added allowing the voter to provide additional identifying information required by a State which does not appear elsewhere on the forms. It also has a free return postcard for use by election officials to acknowledge receipt or note deficiencies in the application or request.

Although earlier versions of the FPCA remain in circulation and are perfectly valid, the new form should be easier for both voters and election officials to use.

ENVELOPES FOR MILITARY AND OVERSEAS ABSENTEE BALLOTS

The Federal Voting Assistance Program also prescribes for State and local election officials the designs of outgoing and return envelopes for military and overseas absentee ballots. It is important to note that the envelopes recommended for military and overseas ballots are different in some respects from those suggested for domestic civilian use. These differences are intentional since they will permit local election officials to distinguish quickly between the two types of returning ballots and thus facilitate the management of the new Federal write-in ballot. Use of the prescribed envelope also allows free postage for the election official and voter.

Election officials interested in obtaining samples of the military and overseas envelope design are welcome to contact the Federal Voting Assistance Program office at the address or telephone number listed below.

THE VOTING ASSISTANCE GUIDE AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Federal Voting Assistance Program publishes a number of materials which, although intended primarily for use by military unit voting officers and other officials overseas, are also available to local election officials. The *Voting Assistance Guide* is the most popular publication. This volume outlines the relevant absentee voting procedures in each state, provides the mailing addresses of the appropriate local election officials, outlines probable State income tax liability for military and overseas citizens, and contains a copy of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.

The office also publishes a brochure for military and overseas voters entitled "How to Vote Absentee." And too, a number of colorful motivational posters on registration and voting are available to both overseas posts and local election officials. To obtain copies of any of these items, contact the office at the address or telephone number below.

THE FEDERAL WRITE-IN BALLOT

The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act of 1986 provides for a special Federal write-in ballot which may, under certain circumstances, be used by overseas voters in Federal elections. The purpose of this ballot, widely known as the "Federal Blank Ballot," is to ensure the right to vote to those overseas voters who have made timely application for a regular absentee ballot but who do not receive it in sufficient time for it to be returned and counted. The appropriate use of this ballot was described in the last issue of this *Journal* which is available from the FEC's National Clearinghouse on Election Administration.

AN OMBUDSMAN SERVICE

In an attempt to facilitate communication between military and overseas voters and their respective local election officials, the Federal Voting Assistance Program provides a kind of ombudsman service. When, for example, FPCA's are received lacking some small but crucial piece of information (such as party preference in primary elections), or when mail is returned as undeliverable to the military address previously provided by the voter, election officials are encouraged to telephone the staff of the Federal Voting Assistance Program so that they might promptly obtain the essential information.

CONSULTATIONS WITH STATE AND LOCAL ELECTION OFFICIALS

Finally, in a continuing effort to remove barriers to absentee voting by uniformed and overseas voters, the Federal Voting Assistance Program maintains continuous contact with state and local election officials in order to assist them in adopting the mandatory and recommended provisions of the Uniformed and Overseas Absentee Voting Act as well as to advise them on the applicability of the law to their individual election systems.

The office has also undertaken several legislative initiatives with the States in order to encourage them to:

- provide a 45 day transit time for absentee ballots to military and overseas citizens
- automatically accept a single FPCA ballot request as a request for ballots in all elections held during a calendar year
- accept the FPCA as a combined registration and absentee ballot request
- replace any notary requirements on election materials with a self-administered oath
- eliminate any "not earlier than" acceptance dates for registration or absentee ballot requests
- provide a State write-in absentee ballot, and
- provide for late registration for recently separated military personnel.

NATIONAL "GET OUT THE VOTE" CAMPAIGN

In conjunction with the Advertising Council and the National Association of Secretaries of State, the Federal Voting Assistance Program sponsors a national multi-media campaign to encourage voting by all eligible citizens. The media materials are sent to all U.S. radio and television stations and newspapers.

For further information, for any of the materials identified above, or for assistance, contact:

Director, Federal Voting Assistance Program
Office of the Secretary of Defense
1B457, Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301
Tele: 202/695-0663

compiled by William Kimberling, Deputy Director
National Clearinghouse on
Election Administration

National Associations of Election Officials

Because of the increasing complexity of administering elections, State and local election officials and policy makers throughout the nation have found it useful to band together in various associations in order to share information, influence legislation, and promote their common interests. Such associations include:

■ **THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLERKS, ELECTION OFFICIALS, AND TREASURERS (IACREOT)** is a non-profit, professional association with a membership of over 2,000 county officials from throughout the United States and several other countries. Created in 1971, the organization provides an international forum through which appointed and elected officials can share theories, techniques, and innovations.

IACREOT publishes a quarterly newspaper used for exchanging ideas and information from and about other members; conducts annual meetings for exchanging ideas and for viewing new procedures first hand; provides workshops in all areas of importance to members; and serves as a voice before Congress, state legislatures, and county boards in the formulation of laws and policies.

All elected or appointed clerks, recorders, election officials, treasurers and other officials performing similar duties in county, city-county, or state governments are eligible for *active memberships* in IACREOT. Deputies of active members are eligible for *associate memberships*. Representatives or corporations, institutions, associations, partnerships, or groups associated in any way with IACREOT may become *members at large*.

For further information, contact:

Mr. Clyde Webber
IACREOT Membership Chairman
P.O. Box 790
VIDALIA, LOUISIANA 71373-0790
Tele: 318/336-4204

■ **THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (NACo)**, with headquarters on Capitol Hill, is a full-service organization whose purposes and objectives are: to serve as a liaison with other levels of government; to improve public understanding of counties; to act as a national advocate for counties; and to help counties find innovative methods for meeting the challenges they face.

The most important way NACo helps counties is by advancing and promoting the county government message and policy that its members adopt. Each year the policy which guides NACo is carefully reviewed in a process which culminates in the adoption of the American County Platform. Communication is another key element in NACo's effort to assist counties. *County News*, a biweekly newspaper, provides members news not only of what is happening in Washington, but also of activities of counties around the nation. Advisory assistance to counties and research and information are other ways NACo helps counties. The NACo research department maintains a computerized bank of information that can track trends and new developments in the provision of services. And finally, NACo sponsors an Annual Conference held each summer in a different county around the nation. In late winter, its Legislative Conference is held in Washington, D.C. There are also specialized conferences held throughout the year.

More than two-thirds of the country's 3,107 county governments are members of NACo. The county governments themselves are the actual members. A county's membership enables all its elected and appointed officials to become active participants in NACo, to serve as NACo officers, and to become active in affiliate organizations (see below). For further information, contact:

John P. Thomas
Executive Director
National Association of Counties
440 First Street, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20001
Tele: 202/393-6226

■ **THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY RECORDERS AND CLERKS (NACRC)** is composed of elected and appointed county officials who wish to approach their responsibilities through the exchange of ideas on a national level. It provides an avenue for colleagues to meet with one another in order to discuss and develop better methods for administering county offices. As an affiliate of the National Association of Counties, NACRC has a strong voice in Washington and a professional staff to call upon.

In addition to the other benefits of membership in NACo (see above), NACRC conducts professional workshops on a variety of topics (including elections); offers an introduction to new technology such as computers and voting equipment; and provides current information on pending legislation, rules, and regulations. For further information, contact:

NACRC Liaison
National Association of Counties
440 First Street, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20001
Tele: 202/393-6226

■ **THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MUNICIPAL CLERKS (IIMC)** is the professional association of county, city, village, borough, town, and township clerks (also called secretaries, recorders, or clerk-treasurers) and their deputies. Its 9,300 members include municipal officials in every state, all Canadian provinces, and 15 other countries. Offices and professional staff are located in Pasadena, California.

IIMC provides a variety of services and benefits to members. Its Management Information Center, for example, contains thousands of reports, studies, articles, and samples on anything confronting municipal clerks today. And its Sample Ordinance File contains thousands of sample regulations on hundreds of different topics. IIMC also has over 55 titles in print, with more being added each year, which are available to its members on request. Other publications include Technical Bulletins, Case Studies, Ordinance Compilations, and a monthly *News Digest*. IIMC offers an Education Program (including a Home Study Course) and a Certification Program for qualified members. For five days each May, the IIMC Annual International Conference combines educational workshops and seminars with social programs designed to introduce members to each other.

Any person vested with the powers and duties commonly known as clerk, secretary, or recorder is eligible for full membership in IIMC. Deputies may join at special fees if the clerk is a full member. For additional information, contact:

The International Institute of Municipal Clerks
160 N. Altadena Drive
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA 91107
Tele: 818/795-6153

■ **THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECRETARIES OF STATE (NASS)** was established in 1904 to provide a means for the exchange of information among the Secretaries of State and to provide a mechanism whereby, through personal acquaintance, formal and informal cooperation between state governments could be furthered.

NASS conducts two conferences during the year. Both the Winter Meeting and the Annual Conference serve as forums for the discussion of the various problems facing the states. Publications include the quarterly newsletter *NASS News*, the *NASS Handbook* of member biographies, *The Office and Duties of the Secretary of State*, the historical *NASS: A Heritage*, and other special publications as necessary. NASS has also been involved in many special activities including projects on the early reporting of election results, get-out-the-vote campaigns, campaign finance regulation, and observing international elections.

Membership in NASS consists of Secretaries of State and Lieutenant Governors or other state officials performing such duties in jurisdictions of the United States. Chief state election officials, if other than the Secretary of State, are also eligible for non-voting membership upon the recommendation of the Secretary of that State. Non-voting emeritus membership is also available for former Secretaries. For further information, contact:

The NASS Secretariat
Council of State Governments
Iron Works Pike
P.O. Box 11910
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40578-9989
Tele: 606/231-1913

■ **THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS (CSG)** is a national, non-partisan organization serving the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of state governments. Its activities are directed and funded by the states themselves. CSG's national headquarters are located in Lexington, Kentucky with regional offices in Atlanta, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco along with an office in Washington, D.C.

CSG provides a wide variety research, information, and support services. Publications include *The Book of the States*, an invaluable reference work of statistics and comparative data; *State Government News*, a monthly news magazine; *Innovations*, spot reports on innovative State programs; *Backgrounders*, monthly packets of brief reports on timely issues; *Journal of State Government*, a bi-monthly periodical featuring in-depth research articles; and *Suggested State Legislation*, an annual volume compiling recent, transferrable, and effective enactments on significant issues. CSG also offers a telephone inquiry service, an inter-library loan and automated bibliography service, fellowship and leadership development programs, and support services to state associations under the CSG umbrella. Finally, CSG conducts an annual meeting and four regional meetings, sponsors various task forces and committees on topics of special interest, and offers management seminars.

Because all states and territories are already members of CSG, in order to find out how, as a state official, you can avail yourself of their services, contact:

Jo Ann Ewalt
Council of State Governments
Iron Works Pike
P.O. Box 11910
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40578-9989
Tele: 606/231-1939

■ **THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES (NCSL)** is a non-partisan organization created to serve the legislators and staffs of the nation's 50 states, its commonwealths and territories. NCSL provides research, technical assistance, and an opportunity for policymakers to exchange ideas on the most pressing state issues. It is also an effective and respected representative for the interests of state governments before Congress and federal agencies.

NCSL provides an information and assistance service which includes responding to individual queries, sending skilled professional staff to work directly with legislators, arranging for expert witnesses, and conducting workshops and training sessions on specific topic areas. Research resources include LEGISNET (which contains abstracts of thousands of legislative research reports, public policy documents, journal articles, statistical data, research reports, and the like) and FFIS (Federal Funds Information for States which monitors federal grants-in-aid programs). Each year, NCSL publishes approximately 10 issues of *State Legislatures* magazine reporting on developments in the states, 4 quarterly *Conference Reports* describing NCSL activities, 15 issues of *Federal Update* reporting federal developments, 15 or so *Legislative Reports* on current issues, about 30 *State-Federal Issue Briefs*, and numerous other publications and videos. NCSL conducts an annual meeting each summer, an annual Leader to Leader meeting each January, and a variety of other topical meetings and staff workshops year round.

Because all states are members of NCSL, any state legislator or legislative staff member may call upon its services. In order to do so, contact:

Mr. Karl Kurtz
Director of State Services
National Conference of State Legislatures
1050 17th Street, Suite 2100
DENVER, COLORADO 80265
Tele: 303/623-7800

compiled by William Kimberling, Deputy Director
National Clearinghouse on
Election Administration

Private Resources Available to Election Officials

In addition to the public agencies and associations described in this volume, there are a number of private sector resources available to election officials. These include:

■ *ELECTION ADMINISTRATION REPORTS* is a biweekly newsletter and information service for election officials at all levels of government. The newsletter covers all federal, state, and local administrative, legislative, and judicial activities affecting the administration of elections. Items include the current status and prospects for federal legislation; Supreme Court, lower federal court, and important state court decisions; and actions of the Federal Election Commission, the Department of Justice, the Federal Voting Assistance Program in the Department of Defense, and other election related agencies such as the Bureau of the Census and Postal Service.

Election Administration Reports also covers developments in voting machines, electronic and mark-sense voting devices, registration and administrative software and supplies, and other products useful to election administrators. Other articles address management procedures, recount procedures, administrative standards, computer security, and topics of current interest in the election community.

The newsletter highlights important developments that can save readers both money and time. It offers, for example, money-saving ideas contributed by election officials around the country. And subscribers benefit from a complete information service on election administration in that information beyond that offered in the newsletter is available to subscribers by phone or by letter.

The newsletter was founded in 1971 by its editor, Dr. Richard Smolka, author of several books and articles on voter registration and the election process generally. Smolka has served as a consultant to federal, state, and local election officials, and as an observer at foreign elections. Information regarding subscriptions may be directed to:

Dr. Richard Smolka
Election Administration Reports
5620 33rd Street, NW
WASHINGTON DC 20015
Tele: 202/244-5844

■ **THE ELECTIONS RESEARCH CENTER** is a private, not-for-profit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. Election officials may be especially interested in its *AMERICA VOTES* series, published each two years since 1956, which summarizes the verified results of all federal and gubernatorial elections.

As an example of its contents, *AMERICA VOTES 18* (forthcoming this autumn) will detail the 1988 voting results in every State for President, Governor, and U.S. Senator with vote totals, percentages, and pluralities broken down by State and by county. It will also include details of the 1988 vote for the U.S. House of Representatives. Where district lines have not changed, the data include past election results so the reader can analyze the changing pattern of personal and party support.

The 1988 primary results are provided for each State for Governor, for Senator, and for Representative. There is also a special section detailing the presidential preference primaries by State for 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988 and a section giving the State-by-State vote for President from 1920 to 1988.

Supplementing these election statistics are maps outlining counties and congressional districts, as well as city maps detailing wards and assembly districts in America's largest cities.

Other special features include the complete roll of current Governors, Senators, and Representatives; statewide figures for Governor and Senator back to 1945; and 1980 population data by State, by county.

In addition to the *AMERICA VOTES* series (published by Congressional Quarterly, Inc. and available in most libraries), the Elections Research Center can provide election results from

other well established democratic nations. Director Richard Scammon is also available for occasional speaking engagements. For further information, contact:

Richard M. Scammon or Alice V. McGillivray
Elections Research Center
1321 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. 2nd Flr
WASHINGTON DC 20036
Tele: 202/659-9490

■ **ELECTION DATA SERVICES, Inc. (EDS)** is an independent consulting firm with over a decade of experience in assisting election officials. EDS provides the widest range and most up-to-date statistics available on the election process and on voting equipment. EDS offers election officials a variety of services including:

- ❑ Information and assistance in selecting voting equipment
- ❑ Customized computer software for presenting information in graphic form
- ❑ Workshops for election officials
- ❑ Assistance in implementing new redistricting plans
- ❑ An extensive on-line county-level database including, for each county: the name and address of the current election official the type of voting equipment used the number of precincts registration and voter turnout from 1952 to 1988 election results from 1952 to 1988 population information.

EDS has worked with voting equipment manufacturers and local election boards to examine and report on the strengths and weaknesses of various types of voting systems. Brace also visits hundreds of jurisdictions around the country as a consultant to state and local election officials to review and evaluate voting equipment and procedures.

EDS has developed an exciting new redistricting software which incorporates precinct boundries, demographic information, election returns, and voter turnout figures to provide even a computer novice with a vast array of information at their fingertips. They are also developing software designed to assist election administrators in the development and maintenance of precinct boundries.

Finally, EDS provides a variety of workshops for election administrators, including some through the Federal Election Commission Clearinghouse and the Election Center. Voting equipment workshops have included topics such as a survey of existing voting systems, criteria for evaluating voting equipment, recommendations for successful transitions to new voting systems, and assessments of future technology. Redistricting, reprecincting, and polling place workshops have included topics such as redistricting, utilization of Census information and TIGER files, and criteria for selecting polling places.

For further information about any of these services, contact:

Kimball W. Brace
Election Data Services, Inc.
1522 K Street, NW, Ste 320
WASHINGTON DC 20005
Tele: 202/789-2004

■ **CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, Inc.** has, for nearly a half century, provided the media, governments, private companies, non-profit organizations, libraries, and scholars with factual, complete, and unbiased information on the Congress and on national affairs. CQ helps meet their clients' legislative, political news, and research needs through publications, research, computer, and book services.

The Book Division publishes hardcover library references, paperback political texts, and books on politics, Congress, voting, public opinion, and more. One book of certain interest to election officials is CQ's *Guide to U.S. Elections*, a compendium that covers every election for state governor (since 1788); U.S. Senators (since 1913); the House of Representatives (since 1824); and the presidency. It also provides a wealth of information on political parties (their histories, national conventions, and primaries); on the Electoral College; on reapportionment; and on a variety of other important facets of the U.S. electoral process. Other valuable reference and background books include: *Presidential Elections Since 1789*; *National Party Conventions, 1831-1984*, and *America at the Polls 2 A Handbook of Presidential Election Statistics, 1968-1984*.

The Publication Division gives clients factual, comprehensive, unbiased background on elections, politics, and government.

Campaign Practices Reports is a newsletter that follows the constantly changing issues and regulations of campaign finance. Rulings, opinions, regulations, and changes that affect campaign practices — whether formulated by the Federal Election Commission, the Federal Communication Commission, or the Internal Revenue Service — can easily be located in the *Campaign Practices Guide and Supplement*. *Congressional Insight*, another newsletter, looks at the personalities, pressures, and political maneuvering intrinsic to the American Congress.

With a team of 38 professional Congress-watchers, the CQ *Weekly Report* gives readers the most detailed and incisive analysis of congressional, governmental, and political events and the power brokers who shape them. The *Weekly Report* breaks down all major legislation and puts it in easily digestible language and format. It is fast, accurate, and up to date.

The *Daily Monitor* and the *Weekly Monitor* newsletters track daily and weekly congressional schedules and activities. *Congress in Print* catalogs the publishings of Congress, providing notice of and complete information for important, sought-after publications while they are still available from the Government Printing Office. The *Congressional Record Scanner* summarizes information from the voluminous *Congressional Record* and makes it easily accessible.

For ordering or subscription information or for a listing of other publications available from Congressional Quarterly, contact:

Congressional Quarterly
1414 22nd Street, NW
WASHINGTON DC 20037
Toll free on: 800/432-2250
or direct on: 202/887-6353

■ **THE ELECTION CENTER**, founded in 1984, acts as an independent resource center providing critical information, legislative updates, and technical assistance to registration and election officials at the state, county, and city levels. As the Washington contact for hundreds of state and local election officials in every part of the United States, the Center is in constant contact with Congressmen, Senators, and key staff members on the Hill and in federal agencies to keep members informed of every legislative and regulatory development affecting election officials.

The Center administers a toll-free "hot line" service that answers member questions; sponsors yearly National Election Conferences that provide in-depth training and a much-needed forum for the exchange of ideas among colleagues; maintains an information clearinghouse of data from state and local officials on exemplary administration practices; publishes monthly *Election Center Reports* on timely registration and election issues; and monitors federal legislation and reports to members on key developments.

In addition, new study groups on Computer Security and Reliability and Voting Equipment Certification were formed in 1988 to provide an information conduit on specific issues and topics and to produce training materials for members. The section on Congressional Liaison was formed to provide election officials with a mechanism to review proposed legislation which would affect them. A fourth section on Long Term Planning will identify emerging issues and devise methods of dealing with them proactively. All Election Center members are encouraged to participate in these sections.

The next National Election Center Conference will be held in Reno, Nevada on September 5-9, 1989. The three-day conference will feature all-day workshops for users of Votomatic, Datavote, DRE, mark sense, and punch card equipment. In addition, an all-day workshop is planned for Secretaries of State on the certification of voting equipment. Over the past year, the Center has also sponsored regional conferences in Vermont, Texas, Kentucky, and Florida in conjunction with the respective Secretaries of State and the Ford Foundation.

For further information, contact:

The Election Center
444 North Capitol Street, NW, Ste 349
WASHINGTON DC 20001
Toll free on: 800/237-7270
or direct on: 202/638-1445

■ **THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.** The League of Women Voters has long been involved in the election process and brings to it not only interest, but expertise that election officials might find helpful.

At the national level, the League of Women Voters Education Fund (LWVEF) publishes a number of materials that can serve as resources for election officials. A major aid for state and local election officials is *VOTE! The First Steps* (Pub. No. 522, $2.00), which lists voter registration and absentee voting procedures state by state. Each election office should have one.

Other useful publications available from the LWVEF include: *Electoral Participation: Gateway to Democracy* (#800, $2.00),about the implications and results of voter registration drives conducted in 1984; *Getting Out the Vote; A Guide to Running Registration and Voting Drives* (#424, $1.25); and *Administrative Obstacles to Voting* (#206, $1.50), findings and recommendations from a 1971 survey of practices in 251 communities, still widely referenced today.

The LWVEF periodically conducts special projects on voting rights and election administration involving monitoring, voter registration, voter education, and outreach activities.

The LWVEF can answer telephone enquiries about election-related matters. As resources permit, the LWVEF also provides training on how to conduct voter registration drives and working with volunteers, and can make available a copy of its two-sheet handout, "Ten Steps to a Successful Voter Registration Drive."

The network of state and local Leagues of Women Voters includes many members who are very knowledgeable about the election process. League members have served as polling place officials, deputy voter registrars, voter outreach and information specialists, and in other capacities. Some small jurisdictions have even hired their local Leagues to conduct or oversee certain elections.

Enquiries about assistance available from the LWVEF should be directed to:

Election Services and Litigation
League of Women Voters Education Fund

To order publications, contact:

Publication Sales
League of Women Voters of the United States

both located at:

1730 M Street, NW
WASHINGTON DC 20036
Tele: 202/429-1965

■ **THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE**, a non-partisan tax-exempt research corporation, was founded in 1976 to seek the causes of and cures for the problem of political non-participation in America. During its thirteen years of existence, it has become the primary source of information about participation trends for policy-makers, the press, and the public.

Since its inception, the Committee has produced or sponsored:

- a landmark 1976 study which described the nature of the non-voting public and placed the issue on the American agenda
- a major study, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, which quantified the impact of changes in voting laws on voter turnout
- a bi-partisan commission to research and address the impact of televised political advertising on campaign costs and voter perceptions
- a bi-partisan commission to find common ground to change voter laws to enhance participation while protecting the integrity of the political process, and
- Major biennial studies of voter turnout which have come to be the primary public source of data on voter participation.

Funded by a wide spectrum of foundations, corporations, unions, and individuals, the Committee's work is advised and directed by a prestigious, bi-partisan group of civic leaders, policy-makers, academics, and interest group representatives.

Through its various efforts in research, public education, and policy development, the Committee seeks to educate and sensitize leadership and the public to the nature and scope of the non-voting problem.

For further information regarding the activities and publications of the Committee, contact:

Curtis Gans, Director
Committee for the Study of
the American Electorate
421 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.
WASHINGTON DC 20003
Tele: 202/546-3221

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- ❑ **More on the history of election administration (such as the Electoral College article in the last edition)**
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- ❑ **More on the requirements of various federal election laws (such as the Q&A article in the past edition)**
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